Pacific School of
Religion
Berkeley, Calif.

THE EXPOSITOR

VOL. XI.

List of Contributors to Volume XI

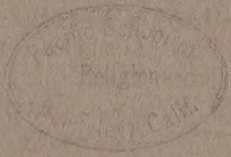
Rev. W. Ernest Beet, M.A., Litt.D.
Most Rev. J. H. Bernard, D.D., D.C.L., Archbishop of Dublin.
F. H. Colson, M.A.
Rev. Professor W. A. Curtis, D.D., Litt.D.
Rev. George Edmundson, M.A.
Rev. C. W. Emmet, M.A.
Rev. Principal A. E. Garvie, M.A., D.D.
Professor Frank Granger, Litt.D.
Professor Rendel Harris, Litt.D.
Rev. F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock, D.D.
Rev. Maurice Jones, D.D.
Rev. Professor H. A. A. Kennedy, D.D.
Rev. Professor W. F. Lofthouse, M.A.
Rev. J. B. McClellan, D.D.
Rev. Professor J. E. McFadyen, D.D.
Rev. Professor H. R. Mackintosh, D.D.
Rev. Alphonse Mingana, D.D.
Rev. Professor James Moffatt, D.D., Litt.D.
Rev. W. Morison, D.D.
H. F. Moule, Litt.D.
Rev. Professor T. H. Robinson, M.A., B.D.
The Late Sir Alexander Simpson, M.D.
Rev. R. H. Strachan, M.A.
Rev. J. M. Thompson, M.A.
Bernard H. Tower, M.A.
The Late Principal Sir William Turner, M.D.
Rev. Professor A. Van Hoonacker, D.D.

THE EXPOSITOR

EDITED BY THE REV.

SIR W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, M.A., LL.D.

EIGHTH SERIES



Volume XI

HODDER AND STOUGHTON
WARWICK SQUARE, LONDON, E.C

MCMXVI

ser. 8
v. 11
1916:1

BUTLER & TANNER,
THE SELWOOD PRINTING WORKS,
FROME, AND LONDON.

THE NEW TESTAMENT AND ITS INTERPRETATION FOR OUR TIME.[1]

A Definition of New Testament Criticism.

As there are critics and critics, so there is criticism and criticism. By etymology, if not always in actual fact, a critic is something of a judge, one who is able or apt to judge. But in practice we have not contrived to save the name from sinister associations. Like its near neighbour, the word "censorious," it has acquired a meddling character, a suggestion of the Pharisee or superior person. It is too much to expect either "critic" or "censor" to be a welcome figure. In truth, the critic is very prone to forget that his function is that of a judge, to try and not to theorise, to hold the balance and not to be the special pleader tugging at one of the suspended scales. There is, accordingly, some solid ground for the popular dislike and distrust of "Criticism" and "the Critics." It is not in human nature to stand by unmoved while things, or books, or persons we value and revere are being criticised or even merely analysed with cold dispassionateness. The religious mind is restive while its Sacred Writings are being dissected. For it they are living oracles. As God's Word

[1] Part of an Inaugural Lecture delivered by the Rev. William A. Curtis, D.D., D.Litt., formerly Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Aberdeen, on appointment to the Regius Professorship of Bibli ca Criticism and Biblical Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh, Oct. 21, 1915. The omitted preliminary portions of the lecture contained a reference to his return to the University and Faculty in which he had received his training, a tribute to the University which he had just left, and an appreciation of the theological and academic service of the Rev. Professor John Patrick, D.D., his teacher and predecessor in the Chair.

they are life to mankind. To cut and carve them in the interest of science is in its eyes a vivisection, a kind of rude violation of the sanctity of life. Were they dead things, it would not be so bad, though even then it would still be irreverent and profane. In theory all are assured that handling cannot harm the Bible, that it will bear rough handling, but there is that in us which rightly resents anything like a liberty taken with the Book. It may be complained that the critics who have been employed on the strength of their learning and authority to defend the Faith against its more learned enemies have not seldom done the cause disservice through disclosing, by the unfeeling roughness of their touch, the low estimate which they really held of the sanctity of Scripture. They give us a polychrome Bible, men murmur, whose conjectural literary sources are printed in all the colours of the rainbow, but what we really need is God's Word in black and white, the plain colours of faith and obedience. It is all very well to cut Scripture up, and fill a museum of literary anatomy with its sundered fragments arranged and labelled for the curious eye, but it is the living Word, the live Truth, we want. However complex the Book may be, we know that it is *one* organically. We can relate it to ourselves, and ourselves to it, if we confront it in its unity. It is distracting, and it is disquieting, to be shown its inmost structure as a literature, and then be bidden worship it. Our only justification for religious reverence for the Bible is that it lives, and that the life-principle which animates it is in our sober judgment none other than the Spirit of God.

As one looks back across the critical work which in Europe and America has been lavished upon the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament it is hard to escape the melancholy impression that with all its conscientious and disinterested toil it has often been disfigured by ugly elements

of pedantry and rabbinism. Criticism has too often alternated between a servile devotion to the letter of Scripture and on the other hand a neglect of Scripture entailed by an unhealthy preoccupation with critics themselves and their speculations. It is the Bible, not its critics, that is the subject of our study.

Fascinating though it is for leisured minds to jigsaw ancient writings and to separate the sections with a view to subsequent refitting, interesting though Scripture critics are to one another as brethren in a guild of fellow-workers, it dare not be forgotten, and it cannot too sternly be insisted, that the function of New Testament study is to elucidate the New Testament, to let in fresh light upon its venerable pages, and, not less often, to free them from the wrappings of tradition so that they may as of old shine by their own light upon the minds of men. It is not altogether a wholesome sign when our literary and critical introductions to the books of the New Testament become a mass of figures and a nexus of alternative opinions. They are full of honest personal work. Rightly used, they are a help such as no earlier generation ever enjoyed. But they do not and they will not inspire as slighter and sometimes less able works have done.

The distrust which attaches to the terms critic and criticism receives an outstanding illustration, and in a measure vindication, with reference to what is technically known as the Higher Criticism. What I have to say on this is painfully elementary, but it is still painfully necessary to be said, and it will lead me to a statement of my own conception of the critic's task. When we speak of Higher Critics and Higher Criticism we are employing terms which, though they have become convenient bywords of popular abuse, have a perfectly honourable and exact scientific value. I am not fond of them, for the simple reason that

they are not adequately self-explaining, and have proved their inability to pass into popular currency without serious and unnecessary prejudice to the work they represent. The Higher Critic is not a superior critic. Teuton though he often is by race, he is not claiming by his name to be a species of critical superman. Higher Criticism stands in a precise relation to Lower Criticism, and is only intelligible as such. The Lower Criticism concerns itself with the business of securing an accurate and authentic *text* of a book, and is essentially Textual Criticism. The Higher Criticism assumes an authentic text and is occupied with the investigation of its literary contents and the problems which they suggest—when was it written ? by whom ? to whom ? with what end in view ? is it intact ? is it genuine ? and so on. It asks what tradition has to say about these things, and it asks what the book itself has to say or suggest about them. The two kinds of Criticism are distinct, though they presuppose not a little of the same kind of linguistic study and react upon each other not seldom. Each is legitimate and useful, indeed indispensable, for a right understanding of a literary work which has come down to us from antiquity. And the Bible needs both as freely as any other book.

But if there is thus a recognised scale or gradation of interest in Biblical Science, do these two kinds of criticism exhaust the series ? It seems to me that we must apply to New Testament study something like Matthew Arnold's conception of literary criticism and raise the critic's work to the level of literary and spiritual interpretation. After all, though it matters a great deal who wrote the First or the Fourth Gospel, and when those sacred books were written, it matters a great deal more what they have to tell us and how we ought to understand their message. The New Testament writings all more or less claim to be

bearers of good news. By all means make sure of their credentials when they break in upon you with their insistent message, but have a care lest in the process you forget their tidings. Assume at least that they may be true, and worth remembering. As Arnold, a profound student and, despite his bias, no mean authority on the New Testament as literature, justly insisted, the duty of a critic of literature is not only to review without prejudice the work which lies before him but to expound for his generation the great and true and noble things which he may find. In a word his highest office and obligation is to be a sympathetic interpreter of great writers, counting his duty unfulfilled until he has conveyed to others, in language appropriate to the time, the wisdom and the inspiration and the beauty and the truth which have appealed to him.

To me, then, New Testament Criticism means something wider and deeper than the study of the text and canon and language and authorship and setting of the New Testament writings. It means nothing less than the Interpretation of the New Testament by every serviceable and rightful means. It does not, it dares not, despise the textual, linguistic, historical and literary disciplines which are still essential to the complete discharge of its mission. But it views them frankly as preliminary or preparatory to the final study of the teaching of the Books, the message of the writers, the mind of the Master who inspired and sent them forth. It thus stands in the closest possible relation to Systematic or Constructive Theology without invading its province. It has nothing to do with ecclesiastical dogma, except to supply it with fully tested building materials for its future erections. It leaves it to Church and individual to accept or reject its ultimate findings. It answers with such historical and literary authority and precision as it can command the great and enduring questions of universal Christian

interest—What does the New Testament say? What does St. Paul think? What does our Lord lay down, by precept or example? These are questions of scientific as well as of popular concern, and they are capable of genuinely scientific answers. The answers may be incomplete, may be hesitating, may be irritatingly qualified, but they may and they ought to be scientifically truthful. If Jesus Christ was silent upon a subject on which we need His guidance, let us acknowledge it and fall back, if indeed it be a falling back, upon the evident and consistent spirit of His teaching. If He gives a partial answer, or an ambiguous answer, let us equally admit it as a fact of sacred history, and bravely reckon with it. If His answer is unpalatable to the age we live in, or to the occupation in which we are engaged, or at variance with the principles and ideals which govern the Church or the world around us, the responsibility for that antagonism does not in any case rest with us as scholars of historical fact. Our duty is to ascertain His historic mind as uttered in the Gospels or as echoed in the apostolic utterances, and to declare what He truly said and thought. Can we conceive a more useful occupation for the energies of scholarship? I do not pretend that the human mind and the human conscience have no further commission to discharge. When you have ascertained by means of accurate and unbiassed learning what Jesus Christ actually said and actually meant, it still remains for you to make a just and honest allowance for the circumstances of His time and ours before His maxims or example can be directly applied to present-day conditions. No one will say that that is always an easy, a simple, problem in proportion. And again there is laid upon us the final responsibility of approving or condemning, of accepting or rejecting His mind. For it is not more true that He is our judge than that we have to form a judgment of our own upon *Him*. He becomes our standard

and ideal only when we test Him by our own conscience and find Him to be not merely the satisfaction of its highest demands but the enlargement of its vision and the very consummation of its unexpressed aspiring. But New Testament Criticism or Interpretation does not reach thus far. It is content to introduce the student to the historic disclosure of the teaching and principles of the Son of Man, and having introduced Him to leave him at the Teacher's feet.

To New Testament Criticism, thus construed, one may come from the study of Systematic or Dogmatic Theology without any sensation of descending. One turns indeed not seldom from the most imposing systems of doctrine to the New Testament with a feeling of relief and refreshment. There is an unaffected atmosphere of freedom and reality in its pages. Its pastures are green and its waters quiet. It is the greatest common inheritance of all the Churches, the one means of grace which does not divide the household of faith. The Sacraments divide us as Christians for we do not recognise the same ordinances or understand them alike. The ministry divides us, for we are not at one in our conceptions of its constitution and proper office. But there is not a form of ecclesiastical doctrine or polity or worship that does not eagerly appeal for its sanction to the New Testament, *when it can*, as to a supreme authority and example. There is not a single creed (not even the shortest of the great creeds) which is officially received by all the Churches or even by all the greatest Churches, but the New Testament is reverenced by the Church Universal, and remains the common treasure of all Christian men.

But, it may be said, the New Testament is a very familiar Book. Eighteen centuries have been expounding it, and infinite talent and toil have been spent upon the work. Hundreds of commentaries have been published, millions of

sermons and lectures have been delivered upon it. We have read the Gospels from our mothers' knees. The other books have been read to us and explained to us ever since we became Church-goers. What new thing that is also true can remain to be said or written on this Book of Books ? From the academic point of view it may similarly be urged that the New Testament text is singularly well established—few ancient writings so well—and that originality in Textual Criticism can only be purchased at the price of eccentricity or wild conjecture. The growth of the Canon in its main features is an ascertained and indisputable episode in history, also presenting little scope for the scholar who feels within his breast a serious call to set the Thames on fire. There is truth in these general impressions, but there can be few departments of philological and literary and theological investigation in which more extensive or more valuable opportunities have in quite recent years been opening up, than in the field of New Testament interpretation. The historical, literary, social and religious background of the Gospels, and the scenes and setting of the missionary labours of Saint Paul, have been receiving floods of new and welcome light through the researches of a gifted band of scholars and explorers among whom the place of honour belongs to representatives of Britain. New Testament study is perhaps the one theological region in which the Universities of Britain have completely held their own against Continental and American rivalry. The language of the Greek New Testament, in its structure, in its idiom, in its vocabulary, in its relation both to vernacular international Greek and to classical Greek and in its dependence upon the Greek of the Septuagint and other ancient versions of the Old Testament, is in process of being re-learned. Passages in the Gospels which because of their apocalyptic character shared with the Book of Revelation and the minor Epistles the

pathetic distinction of being the least read and least understood portions of the New Testament have been thrust into the very forefront of discussion. Without question they will not maintain that position. But the significant thing in their experience is that they form an example of the constant work of reclamation which is being pushed forward by modern scholarship through what seemed to be the waste or desert places of the Bible. In great measure the fruits of these years of energetic labours have still to be gathered by the New Testament Commentator. Exegesis has not been able to keep pace with the husbandmen of research. It is not too much to affirm that the New Testament is becoming a new book in many ways in our time, and that the present age will leave it to its successors a far more intelligible and vivid record of Divine grace than it has ever been since the age which wrote and first received it. And if Exegesis is unable fully to avail itself of the stores of wealth which have been swiftly accumulating to its hand, New Testament Theology has been scarcely more successful. Christian Ethics and Christian Doctrine are being enabled with a surer grasp to lay hold upon New Testament principles and practice. Difficulties of detail are being cleared up, and the essential consistency of the spiritual outlook of the Apostolic age is finding fresh confirmation. We are able with more balanced judgment to co-ordinate at their true value the different writers within the New Testament, to allow for their idiosyncrasies of mind and speech, and to examine their testimonies in a juster perspective.

There is thus much to stimulate and cheer the student who makes the New Testament his subject in our time. He has to do with Christianity in its pristine freshness and spontaneity. He has to do with a literature written principally by men of every-day speech who were too busy and too earnest and too self-forgetful to pose as they handled

the pen, and written for common folk. To read it is to go back to the springs not only of our religion but also of all religion, the simple heart of the people. It is elemental in its simplicities. At its greatest it has the unconscious depth and intensity that belong to lyric utterance. Whatever the scholar brings to it, or does with it, he has no right to obscure its broader features under a cloud of learning. He is handling a holy thing. He is entering a holy place. The New Testament is for him as well as for his unlettered neighbour in the faith the very Ark of the Christian Covenant, the very Holy of Holies in the visible equipment of Christianity. He will not put forth his hands uncouthly or without necessity, even to steady the Ark in the rough highway of modern life, for he will remember that it has an Unseen Hand to uphold and protect it. He will not step roughshod into the Holy Place, even though it is his appointed work to enter it continually in the people's name and on their behalf. It was too much commentary that killed the Jewish Bible in our Lord's time, too much commentary and too little insight that killed the Word made Flesh. It is healthier to leave the appetite for knowledge of it unsatisfied than to glut it with particulars, however interesting and valuable in themselves. The New Testament, like the religion which it enshrines, was created for the world, for the whole world, and not for learned folk alone. I recall some sentences by one of my former teachers and most valued friends, one of the most chivalrous and Christian of our present enemies. "The New Testament," he wrote, "is the people's book. When Luther, therefore, took the New Testament from the learned and gave it to the people, we can only regard him as restoring what was the people's own. And when at some tiny cottage window, behind the fuchsias and geraniums, we see an old dame bending over the open Testament, there the old Book has found a place to which by

right of its nature it belongs. Or when a Red Cross sister finds a Japanese Testament " [he wrote in 1905, but we can only too easily supply parallels to-day] " in the knapsack of a wounded Japanese, here, too, the surroundings are appropriate. . . . Time has transformed the Book of the People into the Book of Humanity. From the philological point of view it can be seen that the two ideas stand in causal relation. Because the New Testament came from the unexhausted forces below, and not from the feeble, resigned culture of a worn-out upper class—for this reason alone was it able to become the Book of Humanity. Thus " [he concluded referring to recent researches] " from the simple writings on stone, papyrus and clay that unfold to us the [popular] nature of the language of the New Testament and at the same time reveal the peculiar characteristic of the Book, there streams a flood of light on the destiny of the Sacred Volume in the history of the world : the New Testament became the Book of the *Peoples* because it was first the Book of the People."

These words contain an admonition to the scholar as well as a tribute to humanity, but they are themselves the outcome of a ripe and mellow scholarship as free from pedantry as it is possible to find. They are not in any sense a denial of the New Testament's need of sound and penetrating interpreters in every generation. That need will never pass away. The passing centuries with their endless change of human thought and speech and outlook call for a succession of men with historical and literary and spiritual power, who can mediate between the ancient Book and the modern reader, opening a way by which each can reach the other with effect. There is a saying of Goethe that " translators may be compared to busy match-makers who extol the charms of some half-veiled beauty to us as a being most lovable ; they arouse an irresistible longing for the original." All

criticism, all teaching of literature fails, and worse than fails, if it does not inspire a "longing for the original." I fear it is a feature of the age that there is a great deal of teaching of literature, the literature of many languages ancient and modern, which does inform but does not quicken a taste and appetite for personal reading. And there is a great deal of preaching about the Bible which similarly informs, but does not send its hearers to the Book itself. It is not necessary to suppose that the fault is wholly at the lecture-desk or in the pulpit, and that the benches or the pews are free from blame. But the fact has to be faced, and it is ominous indeed. It will be an evil day for the higher life of our people when great literature fails to appeal to them, and a day most evil when the sacred literature on which our religion peculiarly depends loses its power to arrest and enthral their hearts and minds.

In his "Education of the Human Race" Lessing calls the New Testament Scriptures the best universal "primer" for mankind. "They have," he says, "exercised human reason more than all other books, and enlightened it more, even were it but only through the light which human reason itself cast into them. It would have been impossible for any other book to become so generally known among such different nations: and indisputably, the fact that modes of thought so diverse from each other have been occupied on this same book, has helped on the human reason more than if every nation had had its own Primer specially for itself." And to the intellectuals who thought that they had done with the Primer and had outgrown the Universal School he finely turns with the words: "Thou abler spirit, who art fretting and restless over the last page of the Primer, beware! Beware of letting thy weaker fellow-scholars mark what thou dimly perceivest afar, or what thou art already beginning to see! Until these weaker fellow-scholars are

up with thee, rather turn once more back to this very Primer, and examine whether that which thou takest only for windings and turnings in the method, for makeshifts in the teaching, is not perhaps something more. . . . Why should not *we*, by means of a religion whose historical truth, if you will, looks dubious, be conducted thereby to closer and better conceptions of the Divine Being, of our own nature, of our relation to God, truths at which the human reason would never have arrived of itself?" The fact is that the New Testament is coming into its own again by steady strides. It has endured a century of incessant curiosity and controversy over its text, its language, its genuineness, its credibility, its teaching. It has weathered storms which would have foundered any other craft. It has suffered many things at the hands of literalists, rationalists, traditionalists, sceptics, pedants, controversialists and superficial theorists. It has been buffeted by its enemies and smothered by its defenders. But it is emerging with its own matchless equanimity and dignified serenity. The times are not congenial to it: they have closer affinities with the Old Testament, with its national ambition and its narrower ethics and its suppression of the individual in favour of a tribal vision. The strong and gifted nation which did most to discredit the authority of the Old Testament is atoning for its high-handed criticism of the ancient Oracles by providing the civilised world with a supreme example of a national embodiment of their lowest and most savage elements. But in every civilised nation, our own included, there has been in recent years a grave hardening of political aims and methods and character, an increased reliance upon force or numbers or the threat of violence, a relaxation of the public sense of honour, a deterioration of the national temper, a growing desire for rank and title and precedence and power, and a growing impatience of discipline and self-restraint. Even

the great democratic commonwealths have not maintained their ideals of liberty with sincerity or consistency. The kind of kingdom which comes with observation and with earthly power has increased in attractiveness for all sections of the civilised and reputed Christian world. The augmented complexity and opulence of life has played havoc with ideals of austerity in speech and bearing and habits on which our national dignity and strength were based, and in particular has weakened the energy of religious experience and activity and profession. But I have faith that the neglected Book will find interpreters, will reassert its old mastery over the human heart, will cool the passions of a grossly ambitious generation, will steal into distracted minds with the winsome persuasiveness which lent it its former influence. If the nations are living upon an international level which is Old Testament rather than New Testament in its spirit, it may be that they are being prepared through the bitter experiences of war and jealousy and hatred to look with an Old Testament wistfulness towards a New Era of peace and good-will established on more secure foundations. Even now, though we sing the Psalms with a new appreciation of their fitness to our case, it is to the New Testament that we turn for admission to a higher hope and a heavenly atmosphere. It is the New Testament that our brave men carry in their reduced kits, the one article in their outfit which lightens their campaigning load. It is the New Testament that will hold up before statesmen and diplomats and potentates a vision of another world than that which they control.

The Book has its own inherent difficulties. Dr. Johnson, in one of the rare arguments recorded by Boswell in which he shows to small advantage, called it "the most difficult book in the world, for which the study of a life is required." His immediate object was at all costs to discredit a simple and

perfectly just appeal to the New Testament by a lady who was defending a Quaker friend from his strictures and who rightly insisted that the New Testament was clear as to essentials. But there *is* ample room for a lifetime's study of the Book, and the Book *is* difficult, both by reason of its extreme familiarity which dulls our perceptions of its meaning and force, and by reason of the distance which separates the world in which it arose and whose thought and language it employs from the world in which we are born and educated. It is full of terms and phrases and ideas which we can neither exactly translate nor neatly and tellingly paraphrase. Its idioms of word and thought are not ours. Its conceptions of disease and deformity are a world removed from ours. Its economic basis of social life, its forms of administration, its food and drink, its customs and festivals and seasons, its native imagery, its methods of narration and expression, its symbolism, its idea of nature and the supernatural, its retrospect on history and its outlook upon the world of nature,—these and many other features of the New Testament are very different from anything in *our* experience and environment. Two generations ago these differences were not keenly felt. Our grandparents knew their Bibles better than their science, and were largely dominated by Biblical conceptions of nature and physical life. We know onr Science better than our Bibles How hard it is to realise that it is not sixty years since in this city and this University, Sir James Young Simpson had to defend his use of chloroform against the persistent accusation that it was impious and contrary to Holy Writ, and that it was an interference with the primeval curse on woman for her share in the Fall. He was happily able to quote Scripture against Scripture and triumphantly to point out that according to Genesis the Creator Himself threw Adam into a deep sleep before extracting from his side the rib which

was to be formed into his help-meet, thus giving a Divine warrant for the humane use of anæsthesia in the surgeon's work. But Scripture is not always so accommodating, and we are often aware, as we read, that its sacred principles are enunciated in a foreign and remote setting. The critic's duty is to recognise these elements frankly. They inhere in the very notion of a Divine economy. Inspiration like incarnation does not dehumanise when the Eternal steps into Time. The New Testament, like its Lord, came into a real world, at a real time, in a truly human form. It does not exist to instruct us in medicine or in science or in history. It contains many indications that its writers were content to think on these things just as their contemporaries thought. Its mission and its message are *spiritual*. In spiritual things I find no sign that it is out of date. It is still pathetically in advance of the times. The times have still sore need of it.

Thus one is both cheered and humbled as one addresses oneself to-day to the interpretation of this sacred Book, cheered by the greatness of one's opportunity and by the wealth of material at one's service, humbled and saddened by the disparity between the New Testament vision and the present plight of the Christian world. It is good to remember that those Scriptures have proved themselves again and again a supreme antidote to human wrong and misery, that they never shine out so brightly as in dark times. If superstition in its panic runs to consult them as an oracle or folds them in its bosom as an amulet against danger, how much more ought Religion in days like these to take refuge in their calm pages and draw strength from their undying confidence in the fatherly love of God and the regeneration of mankind? The Church and the University can render noble service to our distracted nation at such a time, and each has responded with alacrity and self-sacrifice, but they can contribute to the work of restoration no service

more timely or enduring than the communication to the world of the spirit of the New Testament, the spirit of the Man of Sorrows, the Vanquisher of Death, the Prince of Peace.

WILLIAM A. CURTIS.

DR. KIRSOPP LAKE ON "THE STEWARDSHIP OF THE FAITH."

A NEW book by Dr. Kirsopp Lake is now an event of some importance in the world of critical and historical reconstruction. The volumes already published by him, and more especially *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, which is undoubtedly the most valuable contribution of the century to the study of Pauline literature, have led us to expect from him a simplicity and clarity of style which leave the reader in no possible doubt as to the writer's meaning, a scholarship of rare quality, a judgment well balanced, a remarkable insight into historical situations, and a fair and just treatment of original documents and their implications. In the work which we propose to examine in this article some of these qualities are exhibited in great profusion. Here again the style is so limpid and the diction so fluent that the reading of the book becomes a perfect delight, and it falls behind none of its predecessors in its wealth of suggestiveness and remarkable display of ripe scholarship. There is hardly a page that does not "give one furiously to think," but the judgment of the author is, to my mind, neither so cautious or sane as that manifested in his work on the Pauline Epistles, and his treatment of the New Testament documents is vitiated by an undue emphasis on those particular aspects which support his own contentions while other aspects of the literature which point in the contrary direction are practically ignored.

I do not remember ever to have read a book which produced such frequent revulsions of feeling as the volume under discussion. At one moment I am filled with admiration of the writer's skill in describing the salient features of a particular situation and of his insight into what is of real historical value, and the next moment I am moved almost to despair by his perverseness, his refusal to see that his solutions are not the only ones available, and his culpable neglect of so much that tells against his own position. The book is based on lectures delivered at Boston U.S.A. in 1913, and has been written with a deliberate purpose. *Christianity at the Cross Roads* is Dr. Lake's cry as it was that of George Tyrell, and the present volume is an attempt on his part to guide the Christian Church at what he considers to be a critical period in its life in the direction which will enable it to guard and keep the heritage, "the Stewardship of Faith" entrusted to it. In order to place the reader in possession of Dr. Lake's aim and method it is necessary to give a somewhat lengthy summary of the book before we begin to criticise or point out what we consider to be its essential weakness as a whole. The method adopted is to describe another critical epoch in the history of the Church, the period when, according to the writer's idea, Christianity first came to the "Cross Roads," when it passed out of the comparatively simple life of Judaism into the more complex and difficult life of the Roman world. At this time the Church found security and safeguarded its inheritance "by the constant sacrifice of the identity of expression in order to preserve the unity of experience under changed surroundings. The Church did not triumph because it preserved its theology, its ethics, and its constitution unchanged but because it changed them all and changed them rapidly in order that they might express more adequately and more fully the spiritual life

which remained the same, though the forms in which it was clothed were altering with extraordinary rapidity." The historical sketch of early Christianity is preceded by a chapter on "Apocalyptic Judaism," which is the indispensable background to the figure of Jesus as a historical character. Most illuminating is Dr. Lake's view of Judaism as a continuous struggle of nationalism against imperialism, first that of Babylon and then of Rome, and of the effect of this struggle upon the Jewish literature of the period immediately preceding the dawn of Christianity. It produced in the best Jewish minds of the time a catastrophic and eschatological conception of the world's history and gave rise to that considerable body of literature designated "apocalyptic," the one element common to it as a whole being the advent of the Day of the Lord which would close the history of the present world and inaugurate a new Kingdom in which the Messiah would rule as King in a realm where neither oppression, weakness, nor sorrow would find a place. This was the religious atmosphere into which Jesus was born, and the early Christian conceptions of the coming Kingdom of God and of the Messiah are entirely governed by these Jewish ideals of apocalyptic thought and expectation. Our author has a high appreciation of the value of this Jewish outlook upon the course of the universe, in spite of much that was exclusive, narrow and illusory in it. The Jew had seen a vision, which it may be was little more than an illusion, but the men who see visions and dream dreams are the driving force in the history of civilisation. The vision remains indelible "and it becomes the incentive which helps men to make the world approach, if it be but little by little, somewhat more closely to the vision of that better world which they have seen." Further, it provides a much needed antidote to the popular view that history is a course of steady progress and a reminder that national

history is often a catastrophic process, a truth which has been pressed home with considerable force by the great war in which Europe is now involved, and is of special importance in that it insists upon absolute values and man's ultimate independence of particular relationships.

Following upon this suggestive picture of Jewish life, thought, and hopes at the beginning of the Christian era, we have a summary of the teaching of Jesus as it is set forth in what Dr. Lake, in common with most scholars, considers to be the earliest and best authorities for the reconstruction of the life of Jesus, viz., St. Mark's Gospel and Q. And here it must be noted that the author is a thoroughgoing eschatologist and that the Jesus portrayed in these pages is a Jesus who is almost exclusively conditioned by eschatological ideas, and whose teaching is entirely attuned to current eschatological conceptions. The text and content of His public preaching is the imminent approach of the Kingdom of Heaven and the exhortation "to repent," closing, towards the end of His ministry, with increasing emphasis upon the old belief that the coming of the kingdom will be terrible and full of suffering. The "gospel" that He preached was simply the "good news" of the coming of the Kingdom and not the "gospel" in its later and Pauline sense, and the "faith" that He demanded was "faith" not in Christ as Messiah or in the Person of Christ but merely an attitude of expectancy, an expression of confidence in the proclamation of the imminent approach of the Kingdom. It is one of the most certain facts of the Gospel narrative, so Dr. Lake assures us, that Jesus never openly declared His Messiahship and that it remained to the end a secret revealed only to the Apostles. He said nothing of Himself in public and in His public activity His personality was entirely subordinated to His preaching. He spoke as a Prophet in the spirit of the Lord and very

probably applied to Himself the passages in Isaiah which referred to the "Servant of the Lord."

A Jesus conceived in the terms of strict eschatology and nothing more must of necessity mean an ethical system which was only adapted for a world which in its existing form was doomed, and this is exactly Dr. Lake's position. He is completely in accord with Schweitzer and Joh. Weiss, who maintain that the moral teaching of Jesus was merely an "interims-ethik" although he dissociates himself from the use of that particular term. The teaching of Jesus, he tells us, is the extreme negation of all social values and is only intelligible if we understand that it comes from a circle which has no interest in the present. He has much to say, however, that is very helpful concerning the value of this eschatological teaching, but he leaves us ultimately with a Jesus who was the mere product of His age, a Jesus who proclaimed the immediate coming of a Kingdom which has not yet arrived, who did not know that His final entry into Jesusalem was the certain prelude to His death, and who has been proved to be fallible just as the Church and the Bible have been proved to be fallible. His position in this matter is well defined in the following passage: "For the striving of the Spirit in personal religion we have tried to substitute an infallible Church, an infallible Book, an infallible historical Jesus. But all these have failed us and we are drawn back to a living religion of communion with God, without the intervention of any other guide claiming to be an infallible substitute for individual effort."

The third chapter brings us to "The spread of the Church to the Roman Empire." A discussion of the Marcan tradition of the Resurrection on lines made familiar to us in the author's book on *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus* introduces us to a description of the primitive Christian community at Jerusalem. This, we are told,

only differed from contemporary Judaism in two respects; it believed that Jesus was the predestined Messiah and emphasised as a proof of this the Resurrection, and it claimed to have a special outpouring of the Spirit which it regarded as the gift of the exalted Jesus and the fulfilment of prophecy. This aspect of affairs was, however, soon modified by the conversion of the Hellenistic Jews, who united the liberal principles of the dispersion to the teaching of Jesus. The future of Christianity was now bound up with the growth of the Hellenistic party, and this developed on lines differing from those of the Jewish missionaries and Judaistic Christians, and was destined as the condition of its success to adopt Græco-Roman and Græco-Oriental forms of expression both in theology and cultus and to lose much of its original Jewish character. The rest of the chapter is devoted to a most instructive sketch of religious life in the Roman Empire during the first Christian century. The most remarkable feature of this was that while political progress was constantly moving from West to East the religious progress was from East to West.

Constituting the religious life of the Empire were four main factors.

1. *The cult of the Emperors*, which had its origin in the East and had its good side because it emphasised the working of God in the world through the institutions of established society and saw something divine in the Empire and in its head—Cæsar—and thus brought with it a world-affirming ethic which, with its concept of law, was its permanent contribution to progress.

2. *Astral Stoicism*, of which Seneca was the best representative, adding to the conception of "God in Society," a *Weltanschauung* where we find heathenism at its best. This failed because it dealt too much in abstractions and laid so much emphasis upon conduct that it ceased to be

primarily a religion and became a mere code of ethics touched with emotion. Hence the more definitely religious classes turned to the so-called

3. *Oriental Mystery-Religions*, of which there were many forms and all genuinely religious. The features common to them all were a Redeemer-God, death, and immortality. They were weak on the intellectual and ethical sides, but strong on the sacramental, clothing the common facts of early life, such as birth, eating, drinking, washing and dressing with sacramental splendour and eternal significance as the outward visible signs of the progress of a divine life, which was born again, nourished, cleansed and cared for, and finally passed through the last great mystery to a free and untrammelled life.

4. *Judaism*, which at this period was learning quite as much as teaching, moving rapidly along liberal lines and giving up much of the distinctive character of Palestinian Judaism, and in consequence proving very attractive to the Græco-Roman world and drawing to itself many who desired a monotheism clear and definite.

To these factors, *the Christian mission*, which like them came also from the East, added itself, and it succeeded mainly by converting not the convinced members of other cults but the "honorary members," of which the "God-fearers" who surrounded the Jewish mission are a familiar example. Thus the history of the progress of Christianity in the Empire soon became that of the conversion of the "God-fearers," and Catholic Christianity is the outcome of the influence upon one another of the Christian missionaries with their primarily Jewish and eschatological teaching and the "God-fearing" public which brought with it a great portion of the world-accepting ethic, Stoic philosophy, and the sacramental mysticism which were so large a part of the intellectual current coin of the first and second centuries.

In the next chapter we are given the story of "The Antiochene Mission and Early Gentile Christianity." The salient features of this period are a growing divergence between the Jerusalem and Antioch Missions and the mutual influence upon each other of the Christian missionaries and the "God-fearers," which produced the rapid development of thought and practice from which the Catholic Church finally emerged.

There were four stages in the development of early Christianity.

1. *The ministry of Jesus*, when Christianity meant the belief that He was right in announcing the speedy coming of the Kingdom of Heaven and in demanding repentance.

2. *The Church of Jerusalem*, which added to the belief of the first phase the article that Jesus was the Messiah who should come. It did not break radically with Judaism.

3. *The Antiochene Mission*, which only differed from (2) in its altered relation to the Law and Judaism, opening the door to Gentile converts without demanding circumcision or submission to the ceremonial law.

4. *Gentile Christianity*, in which Jesus came to be regarded as the centre of a cult and which ascribed to Him a divine nature and interpreted Baptism and the Last Supper as the equivalents of the heathen mysteries. The main points of difference between Gentile and primitive Christianity were concerned with the developments that made Christ the centre of worship of the community and this necessitated the growth of a high Christology and the transmutation of the rites of Baptism and the Last Supper into sacraments with the same soteriological importance as attached to the heathen mysteries. The position of St. Paul, who was much concerned in this change, was that of a mediator between two extremes, the Judaisers who argued that the law was essentially binding on all converts and the Hellen-

isers, Jews, some of them by race but not in spirit, who had given up the law and in the reaction had become more Greek than the Greeks, arguing for entire freedom, "All things are lawful." In the midde between the two parties stood the Apostle, representing the true position of the Antiochene mission as a whole. The difference between the two sets of opponents was twofold, intellectual and psychological. The Jew and Greek both desired salvation, but the Jew desired primarily security from the impending wrath to come and membership in the Kingdom of God, while the Greek sought a salvation which not only released him from the troubles and sins of the present world but would conduct him after death to what we should call heaven. Again the Jew asked, "What am I to do?" and required a code of life and action, while the question of the Greek took the form of "What am I to be?" He wished to become something different; "to be born again" was the watchword of his religion. The Greek convert did believe that he had actually obtained a changed nature, but the conviction was often accompanied by a certain moral laxity, whereas the Jew was prone to a certain spiritual hardness. Psychologically St. Paul was more Greek than Jew, but being a Jew he also knew the value of morality. Christianity was successful as a world-religion only as far as it produced a system adapted for both Jew and Greek, and yet all through Christian history there has been an unintelligent friction between the two types, and one of the most pressing needs of our day, in Dr. Lake's opinion, is that scientific psychology should lead religious men to realise that we are not all made alike.

The remainder of this chapter traces the development of Christian thought on its Christological and sacramental sides during the period which witnessed the extension of the Church to the Hellenistic and heathen world. Our

author acknowledges that there was no controversy between St. Paul, as representing the forward movement, and the Judaisers on the questions of Baptism and the doctrine of the Person of Christ, and he attributes this to the fact that in the case of Baptism, custom, and in that of Christology, language, were so ambiguous that Jews and Gentile "God-fearers" were able to adopt both custom and language.

In the case of the Christology the Christians of Jerusalem and Antioch were at one in accepting Jesus as the Messiah with all the Jewish implications associated with that conception. This, however, was meaningless to the Greek world and the Greek preferred the word "Lord," which for him represented the divine in a theological sense. This term, therefore, became the bridge which filled the gap between the two sections of Christianity and constituted a long step towards the claim of the divinity of Christ without being a direct infringement upon the monotheism of the Jew. St. Paul calls the Christ "Lord" freely but never "God." The next step in the process was the recognition on the part of the Gentile convert of Jesus as the centre of a supernatural cult by which He became to them not merely the future King of the Kingdom of Heaven which was to come, but the spiritual Being who was the centre of an already existing community in which He was ruling as Lord and looked up to as the source of salvation both in this world and the next. Dr. Lake's conception of the exact course of the Christological development may be summed up in the following quotation: "The primitive history of the Prophet of Galilee who announced the coming of the Kingdom, believed that He would reign as Messiah when the Kingdom came, and called men to repent that they too might share in it, was rewritten as the story of the eternal Logos, by whom the universe had been made and

sustained, who had been constantly in the world in His servants, and had come in these last days to offer to mankind a share in His own eternal life, beyond the changes of this transitory world."

The development of Sacramental doctrine followed, according to our author, exactly the same lines as that of Christology and amounted to the acceptance of originally Jewish rites with an eschatological meaning as though they possessed the significance of mysteries or sacraments. He is inclined to believe that if Baptism in the name of Jesus was practised in the primitive Church of Jerusalem, a fact that he seems to question, it included little more than was associated with the baptism of John, which was primarily eschatological in its significance and not a sacramental mystery in the Greek sense. With regard to the Last Supper the account of the institution in St. Mark leads us to think of it as a sign of the shortness of the time which was to elapse before the coming of the Kingdom, with scarcely a trace of an "Eucharist" in the later sense. The background of thought is eschatological and the sacramental conceptions of later Christianity are absent. These arose from the custom of having a meal in connexion with the religious life of the community, associated with the death of Jesus, the coming of the Kingdom and the manifestation of the Messiah and, according to tradition, instituted by Jesus Himself, which the Greek "God-fearers" would inevitably interpret in the manner in which they were accustomed to regard the religious meals associated with the mysteries of the Redeemer-Gods. Thus in the development of Christological and Sacramental thought and in the transference of emphasis from the "world-renouncing ethic" of Jesus to the "world-accepting ethic" of the Empire we recognise the beginnings of Catholic Christianity in which the Greek point of view, with its

worship of the Lord and its Sacraments, became dominant, though the Jewish element never wholly died out.

The next three chapters deal with the relations of the Church to Heathenism, Gnosticism, and uninstructed Christianity, respectively The writer's motive in these chapters is to point out how far Catholic Christianity was modified by controversy with rival systems, to emphasise the permanent elements of truth which it so triumphantly expressed, and to show how it left a legacy of thought and practice which every system of Christianity must remember if it seeks to supply an intellectually adequate scheme of thought and create a spiritually satisfying corporate organisation for the expression of the common experience of religion. The main purpose of Christian theologians during this period was to provide intellectual correctness, and the attempt was characterised by a freedom of discussion which our author holds to be impossible in the present day owing to the practice of settling theological disputes by discipline instead of by argument, a system to which he attributes the intellectual sterility of a great part of modern Christianity. The ultimate victory of the Church over heathenism, if we take Plutarch as the best and most cultivated representative of it, was due partly to the fact that it did not believe the mythology which formed the basis of the popular creed, and partly because it looked to the past for the centre of religion. The Christian, on the other hand, although there was much that was mythological in the Scriptures that he venerated, did absolutely believe in them, and found his inspiration in the present and was living for the future. To these two factors Dr. Lake would add the failure of the Empire to utilise its "waste products," which was in striking contrast to the success of the Church in winning the social outcast and in raising his general moral and religious standard, with the result that when

the crash came and the barbarian armies heralded a New Age it was the Christians and not the more cultivated heathen who were able to survive. In the mission of Christianity to the "waste products" and failures of life the Sacramental Ministry played a conspicuous part in that it provided physicians and treatment for sick souls. It offered release from sin by Baptism, and Penance and the Mass came to be used as the sacramental means whereby Christians could be cleansed from the stains of post-baptismal sins so that the ministry of the Church developed into a great system for the administration of these Sacraments in order to comfort souls stricken with sin and calling for the care of a physician.

Gnosticism was an illegitimate child of the Mystery-Religions, and its most characteristic feature was its Dualism, which represented Creation as the wrong deed of a misguided spiritual Being whose work had to be undone by the Redeemer, and held that human nature was divided into two irreconcilable parts, flesh and spirit. The practical result of the second conception was to lead Gnostics to extreme asceticism on the one hand and to extreme licence on the other. The Church combated the Gnostic theory of Creation by accepting the Mosaic account, which declared that the creation of the world was originally pronounced good by the Almighty Father Himself and by preaching redemption as the act of His own Son, Jesus Christ. The other theory it withstood by proclaiming the essential unity of human nature. The first clause of the Apostles' Creed was directed not so much against heathen polytheism as against Gnostic dualism, which distinguished the God of religion from the God of Creation, while the Christian identified them. The Catholic theory of Redemption expressed in the Creed in the words "For us men and for our salvation" is Pauline in origin, and is closely connected

with the theory of Creation inasmuch as it rests upon regarding the life of Adam and the life of Jesus as counterbalancing historical facts; but inasmuch as modern science tells us that men have lived on the earth for innumerable centuries and that there is no evidence of a "Fall," our point of view has completely changed. So again the article in the Creed which expresses our belief in the "resurrection of the flesh" is purely polemic against the Gnostic view which separated flesh and spirit, making the spirit eternal and the flesh of no importance. What Dr. Lake himself believes with regard to the question of the resurrection may be summed up in the following quotation: "I do not believe in the resurrection of my flesh: I do believe in the permanence of life, but I do not see that we have any satisfactory evidence to enable us to say what form the permanence will take. It seems clear that whatever form it may take the use we make now of our life bears a direct relation to the value of life as a whole," a wise and helpful statement.

One of the most instructive chapters in the book is that which treats of a subject involved in considerable obscurity, viz., "Uninstructed Christianity," this being our author's rendering of what is known in Germany as *vulgär Christentum*. This type of Christianity may be best studied in the so-called Second Letter of Clement, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Odes of Solomon. The main difference between it and orthodox Christianity was that it maintained that the Incarnation was the Incarnation of the Spirit, the Spirit being incarnate in the Son. Its Trinity therefore consisted of the Father, the Spirit, and Jesus, in whose flesh the Spirit had been and was tabernacled. This is the doctrine of "The Shepherd of Hermas." The doctrine of *Adoptionism* is also associated with this debased form of Christianity. This represented the life of Jesus

as a career of ascetic purity, culminating in apotheosis, and it offered to Christians the reward which had already been given to the Christ. "God had become man in order that men might become God."

A third feature which is in some ways the natural consequence of the doctrines already referred to was the *Docetism* which taught that Jesus had never been flesh and blood, and that if He had seemed to be flesh and blood it was only in appearance. A reaction from this position was the contention of those who argued that as Jesus of Nazareth had been really a man the Christ of religion must therefore possess to all eternity a body of flesh and blood, and this Man of flesh and blood, though He might be in Heaven at the right hand of God, was to be accepted as an adequate centre of religion. So arose the problem of the "two natures" in Christ, and the task of the Christian theologians was to do justice to both sides of the question, which practically resolved itself into saying "No" for several centuries in varying accents of emphasis to inadequate solutions of insoluble problems. So Arianism and its many equally heretical successors were rejected. The final result in the realm of Catholic theology was that it was obliged to say that in the Christ there was a divine nature and a human nature so united in one Person that they could not be separated and yet they must on no account be confused. The problem of the present age is still the perpetual struggle between history and experience as it was that of the early Christian Church. It consists in finding the correct balance between our own intimate religious experience which is valid for ourselves and the history of the whole of Christianity. The doctrine of the "two natures" in Christ as it stands belongs to a past generation, and yet may be illustrated by our own self-knowledge. There are in ourselves two elements, the one limiting, separating, dividing,

leading to contentions and quarrels, which may well be called "human" nature in the narrower sense, and the other, unifying, sympathising, comprehending, the element which is the centre of all corporate life and makes for unity, peace and civilisation, to which we may equitably apply the name "divine." The real work of life is the conscious effort of the individual to develop the divine element. Now this is exactly what the best early Christian theology expressed in its Logos doctrine. The chapter closes with a defence of the "Modernist" who, we are assured, believes that he is the true heir of the Catholic inheritance, while his opponents seem to him to represent a recrudescence of some of the one-sided and intellectually indefensible positions of *vulgär Christentum*. The Modernist worships the Logos, but is not prepared to narrow down his perception of it or to sacrifice his recognition of its divine working in all time and in all life in order to obtain a spurious heightening of contrast for the recognition which he gives to the Logos in Jesus.

In the last chapter Dr. Lake gives an epitome of the various positions assumed throughout the book and then proceeds to point out the duty of the Christian Church to-day if it is to accomplish what the early Church was able to do and preserve a religion which will be adequate to meet the requirements of a new world. First of all, with reference to its theology, it must speak in a language intelligible to this generation, and this will involve not a restatement of traditional theology, but a restatement of religion in modern language. Among the doctrinal subjects which need to be modified is that of the *Atonement*, which is daily becoming less acceptable to our generation because it clashes with our sense of justice. Then again it will be necessary to accept much more definitely the fact that all modern scientific study begins with the observa-

tion of fact and not with the development of theory. This method will mean that in future theologians will give up trying to compress the truth into short statements and claiming them as authoritative, and that theological statement will be accepted as far as it is based on evidence, just as in the case of any other science, otherwise it will be regarded as superstition. Theology must as far as is possible be true and logical, and argument, not tradition, will say the last word. With regard to the Sacramental Ministry of the Church, our author is of opinion that the sacramental side of religious life is permanent and a ministry for the care of souls an essential part of organised Christianity. Two requirements, however, are demanded if the ministry is to be spiritually effective, an education primarily in the facts of spiritual life and only secondarily in the history of the religious life of the past, and much mutual forbearance, seeing that Christianity is no longer a Church, but a collection of Churches. In connexion with the second requirement there must be a recognition of the fact that schism in the scientific world is the recognised means of perpetuating life, and therefore that the creation of the various Protestant Churches means the birth of new organisms. This will entail upon the Episcopal Churches the abandonment of the theory of a divinely established episcopal order and the realisation of the fact that ordination ought to be a recognition of "gifts." On the other hand, the Protestant Churches will need to learn that "a Church is something more than the sum of its members, and that the office of being its appointed agent is in itself a gift which is really conveyed by the Church and carries with it power and authority. In the sphere of ethics the Church must show itself capable of raising the standard of social life and that in a society where at one end of the scale enormous wealth and power for good and evil are

concentrated in the hands of the few, while at the other end, even if distress and poverty have not actually increased, the perception of these has become more acute. Equally necessary, as shown by recent events in Europe, is the extension of the influence of Christianity to international life and the placing of it in a position it once occupied above nationality, which has now come to be regarded as the highest form of life, above all ethical considerations.

The book closes with an appeal to those who now enjoy the heritage of Christianity to realise the magnitude of the task before them, and "how serious is the necessity for faith in the guidance of life, for the love of truth in study, and for courage in utterance to the people."

MAURICE JONES.

(*To be continued.*)

THE COMPOSITION OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

I.

THE aim of this paper is to investigate the evidence for a source or narrative-Gospel underlying John i.–xii. Its method is to use the leading ideas of the Conclusion (xx. 30–31)—*σημεῖον*, *Χριστὸς* and *ζωή*—as criteria of this substratum.

The second hint which this "conclusion" gives towards the reconstruction of the original form of the Ministry-Gospel is its use of the title *ὁ Χριστός*. Certain "signs," it says, have been described in order that the readers "may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." We have already traced the course and influence of the special attitude towards Jesus' miracles which is here indicated.[1] We must try to do the same with regard to the

[1] "The Structure of the Fourth Gospel," in the EXPOSITOR for Dec., 1915.

Messiahship. If we find that the narrative part of the Gospel, particularly in chapters i.–xii., is preoccupied with the question of Jesus' Messiahship, it will be an important corroboration of the results already reached.

(1) *The Baptist* (i. 6–8, 15, 19–34; iii. 23–30) stands in the fourth Gospel simply as a witness to Jesus. Nor is there any ambiguity in what he says. He himself is neither the Messiah, nor Elijah, nor the Prophet (i. 20–21). He is only the Voice, the forerunner of one greater than himself (i. 23–27). This greater one is "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world" (i. 29); He baptizes not with water but "with the Holy Spirit" (i. 33); He has the Spirit "abiding upon Him" (ibid.); He is "the Son of God" (i. 34). This account of the Baptist's witness has no doubt been affected by the desire to contrast his low office with Jesus' high one; and the writer has put into his mouth some of the language and ideas of later Christology. Nevertheless the substratum of the witness remains Jewish and Messianic—the sacrificial lamb, the rite of purification, the Spirit of God, and (as a climax) the Messianic title "Son of God."[1] (2) *The first disciples* (i. 35–51). Jesus' Messiahship is here more clearly defined. "We have found the Messiah," says Andrew (i. 41). "Rabbi," says Nathanael, "thou art the Son of God; thou art King of Israel" (i. 49). Philip says the same thing in a different way—"We have found him, of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write" (i. 45). Jesus Himself sanctions their attitude towards Him by promising them the sight of "heaven opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man" (i. 51)—that is, the Apocalyptic Parousia, with Himself as Messiah. (3) *The cleansing of the temple*

[1] "Son of God" is used as equivalent to "the Christ" in xi. 27 xx. 31, and to "King of Israel" in i. 49.

(ii. 13–22) remains a Messianic incident, as in the Synoptic tradition. The difference between this narrative-Christology and that of the later discourses is epitomised in the contrast between the phrase "my Father's house" (οἶκος) here (cp. Luke ii. 49) and in xiv. 2 (οἰκία). (4) *Nicodemus* (iii. 1–12). Here the climax of the conversation, and the transition from it to the commentary, are marked by two λόγια, which have been edited from a later point of view, but which remain essentially Messianic—"no man hath ascended into heaven but he that descended out of heaven, even the Son of Man" (iii. 13), and "as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up" (iii. 14). (5) *The Samaritan woman* (iv. 1–42). Here, even more remarkably than in the last incident, the climax of the whole conversation is Jesus' declaration of His Messiahship (iv. 25–26). The sequel, with the Samaritans' profession of belief in him as "Saviour of the world" (iv. 42), is a development of Messianic doctrine in view of the Gentile mission of the Church. (6) *The feeding of the five thousand* (vi.). Here again it is to be noticed that the outcome of the miracle is the people's belief that Jesus is the Prophet (a semi-Messianic claim, cp. (1) above), and their attempt "to make him king," i.e., an earthly and political Messiah (vi. 14–15). The "moral" of the miracle, and the text of the discourse which follows, is an apocalyptic λόγιον not unlike those already mentioned under (4) above—"Work not for the meat which perisheth, but for the meat which abideth unto eternal life, which the Son of Man shall give unto you" (vi. 27). Finally, the climax of the whole chapter is Peter's declaration in vi. 69, "We have believed and know that thou art the Holy One of God (ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Θεοῦ)." The title is used of Jesus in Mark i. 24 = Luke iv. 34, by a man with an unclean spirit, and is a synonym for the Messiah. Coming after the

teaching about the Bread of Life, it feels more like bathos than climax. The simplest explanation is that this teaching has been grafted upon the original form of the chapter, but not so as to prevent the reappearance of the latter in the passages that we have indicated. In other words, vi. 69 is the conclusion of chapter vi. in the same limited sense that xx. 30–31 is the conclusion of the whole Gospel. (7) *Popular feeling* (vii. 25–52). The question at issue throughout this passage is Jesus' Messiahship. The arguments on both sides are no doubt reviewed in the light of the anti-Jewish controversies of John's own times. But the writer did not invent the historical setting. He merely modernised a narrative which was already concerned to prove that Jesus was the Messiah. (8) *The man born blind* (ix.). Here the Messianic point of view is apparent in the man's gradual progress from the belief that Jesus is a prophet (ix. 17), sent from God (ix. 33), to the acknowledgement that He is the Son of God (ix. 38). The latter is the climax of the whole incident. (9) *The Dedication* (x. 22–39). The point at issue is still the Messiahship—"If thou art the Christ, tell us plainly" (x. 24). A different and later attitude towards this claim is shown in x. 30–39 (which, in the most probable rearrangement of the text, is more widely separated from x. 24): for there it is regarded as blasphemy. (10) *The raising of Lazarus* (xi.). Martha's confession of belief (xi. 27), with the same equation of the titles "Christ" and "Son of God" as recurs in xx. 31, is Messianic. (11) *The entry into Jerusalem* (xii. 12–19) is shown to be Messianic both by the acclamations of the crowds (especially the title "King of Israel," xii. 13; cp. 15, and Nathanael's confession of faith in (2) above), and by the use of the argument from prophecy in xii. 15–16. (12) *The application of the Greeks* (xii. 20–34) culminates in xii. 32–34, where Jesus' repetition

(in a slightly different form) of the apocalyptic λόγιον from iii. 14 (*v.* (4) above) raises the final doubt in the Jews' minds—"We have heard out of the law that the Christ abideth for ever: and how sayest thou, The Son of Man must be lifted up? Who is this Son of Man?" (xii. 34).

It is generally acknowledged (indeed (1) and (7) above would suffice to prove it) that the fourth Gospel is well informed in matters relating to the Messianic hopes of the Jews. But it is surprising to find how completely the idea of Jesus' Messiahship dominates the narrative parts of the Gospel, and how much unity and individuality these passages achieve when read in the double light of miracle-faith and Messianism.[1] It is difficult to resist the conclusion that they once constituted an independent whole.

II.

The Messianic point of view, unlike the interest in σημεῖα, does not end with chapter xii. But it changes.

(1) In the Last Discourse, as we should expect, the idea of the Messiahship of Jesus is transcended, and the point of view is that of the higher mystical Christology (*v.* especially xiv. 9 foll.; xv. 10; xvi. 28 foll., and xviii.).[2] (2) Both here, indeed, and at the end of the Gospel Jesus speaks of His "coming again" (xiv. 3, 18, 28; xvi. 16, foll. But there is little that is apocalyptic about this Parousia. It is uncertain whether Jesus comes Himself, or sends the Paraclete in His place (xiv. 16, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 7, 13). And the language about "coming" so easily passes into the idea of mystical communion in this life between the Father, the Son, and the believer

[1] Of the twenty passages dealing with miracle-faith only eight do not coincide, in whole or in part, with the twelve dealing with Messianism. This sufficiently proves the interrelation of the two themes.

[2] E.g., in xvii. 3, "Jesus Christ" is used as a title without Messianic meaning.

(e.g. xiv. 23; xvii. 21 foll.) that one is probably justified in interpreting the mysterious promise to the beloved disciple (xxi. 22) in this sense. (3) The account of the trial of Jesus in the fourth Gospel is very difficult, and it is not easy to determine exactly what part His claim of Messiahship played in His condemnation. At the hearing before the Sanhedrin He is questioned only about His disciples and His teaching (xviii. 19). The charge on which He is taken to Pilate is the vague one of being an "evil-doer" (xviii. 30). The suggestion that He is (not that He claims to be, xix. 21–22) the King of the Jews is first made by Pilate; nevertheless the narrative is at pains to explain that this charge had been suggested to Pilate by the Jews (xviii. 34), and that it involved a complete misunderstanding of Jesus' real Kingship (xviii. 36). It is clear from the sequel that it was this charge (in its political aspect almost one of high treason, xix. 12) which brought about Jesus' death (xix. 14–15, 19–22). The alternative indictment—"We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God" (xix. 7)—has no bearing on the trial, and only serves to accentuate Pilate's scruples. From the way in which it is treated (xix. 8–9) it is clear that the writer no longer uses the title "Son of God" in its proper Messianic sense, but gives it a higher meaning. So far, then, as the Passion-narrative preserves the tradition that Jesus was condemned on a charge of political agitation (the claim of Messiahship easily lending itself to this travesty) it is probably correct. But as there is no question here of σημεῖα, so there is no question (unless it be in Pilate's irony, xix. 22) of belief in Jesus as the Messiah. (4) Lastly, the confession of St. Thomas (xx. 28) is expressed in terms which go distinctly beyond those of Nathanael (i. 49), Martha (xi. 27), and St. Peter (vi. 69)—the summits of faith in the first part of the Gospel

—and marks a definite transition from Messianism to Christology. Nothing indeed, shows more clearly the difficulty of regarding xx. 30–31 as the conclusion of the whole Gospel than its contrast with the incident which immediately precedes it. It would be strange after Thomas' great declaration of faith, "My Lord and my God," to say no more than that the aim of the Gospel was to produce belief in Jesus as "the Christ, the Son of God."

We may therefore repeat with renewed confidence, that this preoccupation with Jesus' Messiahship, as with His miracles, belongs to the narrative parts of chapters i.–xii., and does not characterise the Gospel as a whole.

III.

It would perhaps be sufficient to stop here, and to rest our case upon the two classes of evidence which we have examined. But the Conclusion suggests a third line of inquiry. The *σημεῖα*, it says, were meant to evoke belief in Jesus as *ὁ Χριστός*, and the result of that belief is "to have life in his name," *ζωὴν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ* (xx. 31). At the risk of blurring the outlines of our picture, it will be advisable to follow up the idea of *ζωή* in the Gospel, as we have followed up *σημεῖα* and *Χριστός*, and to see how far a specific attitude towards it is found in the narrative parts of chapters i.–xii.

It is first necessary to establish the meaning of *ζωή* in the earlier books of the New Testament.

(1) The word so early acquired a special meaning that its ordinary sense of "the present lifetime" only occurs in Luke xvi. 25 in the Synoptic Gospels, and not at all in Acts. Its almost invariable meaning is the future life, to express which it needs no qualification (Mark ix. 43–45 = Matthew xviii. 8–9; Matthew vii. 14, xix. 17; Acts iii. 15, v. 20, xi. 18), but may be qualified (without altering its sense,

Matthew xix. 16–17) by *αἰώνιος* (Mark x. 17, 30 = Matthew xix. 16, 29 =Luke xviii. 18, 30, etc; Acts xiii. 46, 48). Only in Luke xii. 15 is this apocalyptic use of the word touched with philosophy—"A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth"—and the way prepared for Paul's mystical doctrine of *ζωή*.

(2) The corresponding verb *ζάω* is more often used of the present life (Mark v. 23 = Matthew ix. 18; Matthew xxvii. 63; Luke ii. 36, xv. 13, and generally in Acts, ix. 41, x. 42, etc.). But it also means the future life (Mark xii. 27 =Matthew xxii. 32 =Luke xx. 38; Acts i. 3); it describes the life of God (Matthew xvi. 16, xxvi. 63; Acts xiv. 15), and it is used in a figurative (Luke xv. 24, 32), or mystical sense —"for all live unto him" (Luke xx. 38); "in him we live and move and have our being" (Acts xvii. 28)—by the New Testament writer who most shares Paul's mind.

(3) In a few passages in Paul's Epistles *ζωή* still means the present life (Romans viii. 38; 1 Corinthians iii. 22; Philippians i. 20; in others this reference is defined (1 Corinthians xv. 19; 1 Timothy iv. 8). Frequently it means the future life (e.g. Romans v. 17; 2 Corinthians v. 4; Philippians iv. 3—*ζωὴ αἰώνιος* is also used in nine passages). But generally it is used in a mystical sense of spiritual, and therefore the only real and eternal, life as a present possession, especially in relation to Christ (e.g. Romans vi. 4, viii. 2, 6, 10; 2 Corinthians iv. 10–11; Colossians iii. 3). Similarly *ζάω* refers both to the present life (Romans vii. 1 f., viii. 12, xiv. 7 foll.; 1 Corinthians vii. 39; 1 Thessalonians iv. 15–17, etc.), and to the future life (e.g. Romans vi. 13, xiv. 9; 2 Corinthians xiii. 4; 1 Thessalonians v. 10); but its most characteristic use is mystical (Romans vi. 11, xiv. 8; Galatians ii. 20; Philippians i. 21, etc.).

(4) Thus the apocalyptic sense of *ζωή*, which stood

almost alone in the mind of Jesus Himself, and of His immediate followers, was modified by the Pentecostal experience of the early Church, as well as by the fading of the apocalyptic hope, and the word came to be applied to the mystical and sacramental union between the Christian and Christ.

IV.

In the fourth Gospel ζωή is used both in the apocalyptic and in the mystical sense. There are some passages in which it is not at all easy to say which meaning is uppermost. But in most cases this can be determined, and certain important conclusions can be reached.

(1) In the Prologue "life" is one of the properties of the Logos (i. 4), and the light of men, who, so far as they accept it, are spiritually born, and become children of God (i. 12–13). This idea is carried on in the conversation with Nicodemus (iii. 3–8). Similarly in v. 26 it is said that the Son has life in Himself, and therefore enlivens (ζωοποιεῖ) whom He will (v. 21). There are traces of the same doctrine in the sacramental passage towards the end of chapter vi.[1] If vi. 53–4 is to be interpreted in the light of vi. 56, it does not mean merely being "raised up at the Last Day" (vi. 54), but also "abiding in" Jesus: and as Jesus lives in virtue of the Father's life, so the believer will live in virtue of Jesus' life (vi. 57). Again in viii. 51 foll. the point seems to be that the Jews are entirely mistaken in thinking that Jesus speaks of physical life and death. The word ζωή is not used: but its mystical sense is inferred. This too is the lesson of the raising of Lazarus (xi. 23–26). "I am the Life," says Jesus; "he that believeth on me, though he die (physically), yet shall he live (spiritually): and whosoever liveth (spiri-

[1] But there are grounds for thinking that this passage may be an interpolation.

tually) and believeth on me shall never die (spiritually)." No doubt this teaching goes beyond, and indeed counter to, the miracle of physical resurrection which accompanies it. But so does the teaching of chapter vi. about the bread of life go counter to the miracle of feeding. This is a characteristic of the Gospel, and one of the problems of its composition. It seems then, that we must allow the presence of a mystical sense of ζωή in the first twelve chapters of the Gospel.

(2) But this sense of the word is heavily outweighed, in these chapters, by the apocalyptic use of the term. The conversation with Nicodemus passes from a discussion of spiritual birth to two Messianic λόγια (iii. 13–14): and the second of these says that "the Son of Man must be lifted up; that whosoever believeth may in him have (or, believeth in him may have) eternal life" (iii. 15). "Eternal life" is in the next verses contrasted with "perishing" and "being judged" (iii.16–17); and though "judgement" soon takes on a present and mystical sense reminiscent of the Prologue (iii. 18–19), yet it is clear from the primary sense of this language that the reward of belief is a future life, a share in the apocalyptic millennium. Certainly this is the meaning of iii. 36—"He that believeth on the Son hath" (the second part of the verse shows that this is equivalent to "shall have") "eternal life: but he that obeyeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him." Nothing could be more apocalyptic than the phrase ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ (cp. Matt. iii. 7 = Luke iii. 7). The "living water" which Jesus promises to the Samaritan woman is explained as "a well of water springing up unto eternal life" (iv. 14). The phrase ὕδωρ ζῶν (iv. 10) is substituted for ὕδωρ τῆς ζωῆς in order to excuse the misunderstanding of iv. 11. (The same double meaning probably determines its use in vii.

38.) It therefore falls into line with a number of similar phrases very characteristic of the Gospel—*καρπὸν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον* (iv. 36), *ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς* (vi. 35), explained as *τὴν βρῶσιν τὴν μένουσαν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον* (vi. 27), *ῥήματα ζωῆς αἰωνίου* (vi. 68), *φῶς τῆς ζωῆς* (viii. 12), and perhaps *ἡ ἐντολὴ αὐτοῦ ζωὴ αἰώνιός ἐστιν* (xii. 50). In all these cases what seems to be meant is that the bread, words, light, etc., are a means to, and a security of, life in the apocalyptic sense. Very remarkable, too, as occurring in close proximity to a mystical use of *ζωή*, is the prediction of judgement in v. 28–29—"The hour cometh in which all that are in the tombs shall hear his (the Son of Man's) voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done ill, unto the resurrection of judgement"—a passage which perhaps throws its apocalyptic sense over v. 25 also—"The hour cometh, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live." In the preceding verse also the present and perfect tenses may stand for a vivid future—"He that heareth my word, and believeth him that sent me, hath (*ἔχει*) eternal life, and cometh not (*οὐκ ἔρχεται*) into judgement, but hath passed (*μεταβέβηκεν*) out of death into life." In chapter vi. there is the same juxtaposition of the two meanings of *ζωή* as in chapter v. The "bread of life" both "giveth life unto the world" (vi. 33) and "abideth unto eternal life" (vi. 27): "eternal life" means both present communion with Jesus (vi. 53 foll.) and "being raised up at the Last Day" (vi. 39–40)—a thoroughly apocalyptic expression, which becomes a kind of refrain in this passage. The stress of the chapter (especially if vi. 53–56 be treated as an interpolation) is in favour of the apocalyptic sense. At first sight x. 10 is mystical—"I came that they may have life, and may have it abun-

dantly." But Jesus here contrasts Himself with the thief (i.e. the false Christ or false prophet) who "kills and destroys," and the apocalyptic meaning of the phrase seems to be borne out both by the general character of the allegory of the good shepherd, and by the closely connected saying in x. 28—"I give unto them (the sheep) eternal life: and they shall never perish, and no one shall snatch them out of my hand."

V.

Whilst, then, it must be granted that in these passages an earlier sense of ζωή has been overlaid by a later, and that we cannot separate always the one from the other, yet the quantity of apocalyptic language which occurs in these chapters is very remarkable, and can hardly be explained otherwise than as the survival of a point of view which is not that of the more considered parts of the Gospel. In other words, the evidence of ζωή confirms, at least in outline, the hypothesis which has already been suggested on the evidence of σημεῖον and Χριστός, that an earlier narrative-gospel underlies the first twelve chapters of the present work.

This result is greatly strengthened by the further fact that the apocalyptic use of ζωή, which is so prominent in chapters i.–xii., does not seem to occur in chapters xiii.–xxi. Two passages (xiii. 37 and xv. 13) use "life" in its ordinary sense, as in x. 15. In xiv. 6 "I am the life" is repeated from xi. 25, and bears the same mystical sense as it did there: so does xiv. 19, "because I live, ye shall live also." The only other passage, xvii. 2, seems at first sight to use apocalyptic language, when it says that the Son has authority to "give eternal life" to all whom the Father has given Him; but in the next verse "eternal life" is expressly defined as "knowing thee the only true God, and

him whom thou didst send, even Jesus Christ" (xviii. 3). If anything more were needed to exclude the apocalyptic sense here it would be the non-Messianic use of the title Christ, in sharp contrast with the Conclusion, xx. 31.

It therefore appears that all three heads of the Conclusion (xx. 30–31), *σημεῖα*, *Χριστός*, and *ζωή*, are appropriate summaries of a point of view which characterises an earlier narrative-gospel underlying John i.–xii., but which does not characterise the overlying portions of these chapters, or any part of John xiii.–xxi. We may therefore suggest (1) that xx. 30–31 ought to stand at the end of xii.: (2) that the main "fault" in the structure of the Gospel lies between xii. and xiii., the ministry-narrative and the passion-narrative: and (3) that i.–xii. consists of an earlier source or narrative-gospel, whose point of view was, roughly speaking, synoptic, edited from a later point of view, which is specifically Johannine.

J. M. Thompson.

THE JUDGMENT IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

The second section of the Gospel, chapters v., vii.–xi., may be described as the *Great Controversy*. Jesus is driven by opposition to ever fuller and firmer self-assertion; and this section accordingly yields us very much more than the previous one of theological material. The occasion of the first stage of the controversy at the Feast of Pentecost (or Passover) was the Sabbath-cure at the pool of Bethesda (v. and vii. 15–24); but further provocation was given by the claim of Jesus, "My Father worketh even until now, and I work" (ver. 17), a declaration not of equality with God, as His opponents are represented as understanding it, but simply of dependent and obedient imitation of the divine example. For the Jews, however, the claim to set

aside the letter of God's law, and to follow God's way, would seem impious enough, even if the evangelist has assigned to them a view they did not hold. We have already dealt with verses 19–29 as an insertion, and so we can at once pass to verses 30–47. Whatever objection the opponents had made to Jesus' direct appeal to God as warranting His action, He justifies that appeal by His perfect knowledge of His Father's will due to His entire dependence on and obedience to God (ver. 30). Discarding self-witness (ver. 31) He appeals to the witness of John, held in so high favour by the people (verses 32–35), and to the greater witness of His works as proving His divine mission (ver. 36). Reproaching His hearers with their unbelief, He sends them to the witness of the Scriptures, although He expects this appeal also to be vain (verses 37–40). Next the reasons for and the results of the rejection of His manifold witness are stated. Themselves selfish, because lacking the love of God, His unselfishness as revealing God provokes their refusal, a refusal on which falls the condemnation of the law which bare Him witness (verses 41–47). Jesus' appeal to the Scriptures calls forth the taunt, " How can this uneducated fellow manage to read ? " (Moffatt). The taunt is met by the declaration that the source of His teaching is not in Himself, but in God, as any one willing to obey God may discover for himself ; and that the selflessness of His aim guarantees His own sincerity (vii. 15–18) The taunt is also flung back upon them. Their enmity to Him because of His supposed breach of the law is proof of their ignorance of the law (verses 19–21) ; then follows the kind of argument in defence of Sabbath-cures, such as meets us in the Synoptics ; if the rite of circumcision may be performed on the Sabbath why not an entire cure ? The controversy ends with a pregnant saying as to false and true judgment (verses 22–24).

(2) The result of the controversy was a division of opinion among the people; but no open confession by even the favourably inclined owing to the terrorism exercised by the influential opponents of Jesus (vii. 12, 13). (i.) The freedom for a time allowed Him at the Feast of Tabernacles, to which He came only at the divine prompting (verses 6–10) after rejecting the advice of His unbelieving brethren (verses 3–5), led some of the multitude to believe that even the rulers might be restrained by belief in the possibility of His Messiahship (verses 25–26); yet the suspicion was set aside on the ground that, while Jesus' home and family were known (Nazareth and not Bethlehem being thought of), the appearance of the Messiah, it was commonly expected, would be sudden (ver. 27). This objection Jesus at once met by reasserting His divine mission (verses 28–29). A subsequent attempt at arrest evokes the declaration of His speedy return to God, and therewith the close of this opportunity (33–34)—a declaration which suggested to some of His hearers the possibility of His undertaking a mission to the Dispersion (verses 35, 36). On the last day of the Feast, Jesus made a direct, final appeal to the multitude. He promised the believer in Him not only full spiritual satisfaction, but also abounding spiritual power (37–38), a promise which the evangelist at once relates to Pentecost (ver. 39), but which was probably of a more general reference. Such a declaration only increased the division of opinion among the people, and His arrest was deferred. Even in the Council Nicodemus pleaded for suspense of judgment (40–52).

(ii.) Soon, however, the controversy was resumed. Having as the Water of Life offered satisfaction, Jesus next as the Light of the World offered illumination (possibly referring to the Shekinah) (viii. 12). But this claim the Pharisees, jealous of their position as the authoritative teachers, at once challenged on the ground of the untrustworthiness of

self-witness (ver. 13). Jesus meets the challenge by claiming truth for His self-witness, because of His self-knowledge and knowledge of the Father, whose companionship He is enjoying as He is discharging His mission (verses 14–16). With an appeal to the requirements of the law, He adds the Father's witness to His own (verses 17, 18). Their scornful question as to the identity of His Father, He rebuked by charging them with ignorance, both of Himself as revealing, and of the Father as revealed in Him (verses 19–20).

(iii.) On another occasion, when Jesus repeated the warning of the speedy close of their day of grace, a more sinister suggestion than that of a mission to the Dispersion was made, even that He would commit suicide ; and such a taunt called forth a declaration of the contrast in nature between Himself as from above, and them as from beneath, and a warning of judgment on their sin of unbelief (verses 21–25). Their plea of ignorance regarding Himself, and so His claim to belief, probably intended to evoke a distinct assertion of His Messiahship, was met by a saying of which two interpretations are possible: *τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅ τι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν*; (Nestle, without the point of interrogation in A.V., with the point and *ὅτι* as one word in Westcott). Taking it as a question, Moffatt renders, " Why should I talk to you at all ? " If the words be taken as a statement, Westcott translates, " Altogether, essentially I am that which I even speak to you," but prefers the other rendering himself. In either case no direct answer was given. Either further discussion was declined, or the sufficiency of the information already given was asserted. Further teaching was needed, and as committed by His Father, would be delivered ; but the unbelief of the hearers would make it words of judgment (verses 25, 26). As the hearers made no intelligent response, a clearer warning was given that at His exaltation even those who were now unbelieving would recognise Him as

Messiah and His dependence on, message and mission from, and possession of the Presence of God because of His constant obedience (vii. 27–29).

(iv.) An incipient faith in a few received the assurance of spiritual liberation through the truth on condition of continued discipleship; but the assurance, instead of confirming the faith, provoked resentment that even the need of such liberation should be suggested to descendants of Abraham (30–33). The nature of the bondage, not as outward, but as inward to sin, was explicitly declared; and a relationship to God as sons through Him the Son was offered as a condition of this freedom (verses 34–36). A sudden change either in the feelings of the same crowd, or in the persons around Him, can alone explain the swift change of tone at verse 37. The murderous intentions of those who boasted their descent from Abraham were exposed, and another descent was with ruthless severity assigned to them. As His words revealed His divine, so theirs their diabolic descent, and contradicted their claim to relationship with Abraham (verses 37–40). It is not probable that in verse 41, "We were not born of fornication," there is any reference to any slander about Jesus' birth, which was of much later date; but fornication is used as adultery in the Old Testament for any departure from God through idolatry; and in the words spiritual descent from God as certain as is their physical descent from Abraham is claimed. This claim Jesus will not, however, allow: the rejection of Himself, coming from, sent by, and in His teaching revealing God, proves their kinship with the devil, the source of falsehood, opposing the truth, and of hate, planning the murder of its bearer (verses 42–45). The challenge to His opponents, "Which of you convicteth me of sin?" may mean either that no moral offence showing His kinship with the devil could be proved against Him, or that He could not be shown

to be in error regarding the account He had just given of the nature and origin of the sin of His opponents. The second would imply the first; only moral perfection could claim moral infallibility. He was not in error, their rejection of Him was a rejection of truth, and that was evidence of their spiritual descent as not from God (verses 46, 47). Stung to the quick by this charge, His opponents applied to Him the hateful name Samaritan, and even suggested that the words proved Him possessed (ver. 48). Repelling the charge He reaffirms the disinterestedness of His motives and His regard only for God, and from their judgment He confidently carries the appeal to God's unerring tribunal (verses 49, 50). At this point (ver. 51) Jesus made a declaration which, while consistent with the teaching elsewhere, breaks rather abruptly the continuity of the argument; yet as its subsequent course depends on it, the saying cannot be regarded as interjected from another context. Yet the saying may be explained as follows. Weary of the profitless wrangle, Jesus turned again from His opponents, to whom at verse 37 He had begun to address Himself in tones of so great severity, to the less hostile persons, whom He had been addressing in verses 31–32; and now added to the promise of liberation the promise of deliverance from the power of death as a reward of discipleship. The opponents, however, at once replied. Such a claim proves possession beyond doubt or question, since even Abraham and the prophets have died, as it asserts superiority to the greatest men of the nation. What megalomania is this on His part? (verses 52–53). Disclaiming all vain ambition, Jesus represented the dignity He claimed as a trust from God, which it would be falsehood in Him to deny (verses 54, 55). Opposition instead of depressing elevated His spirit. He declared His mission to be a good, the prospect of which brought joy to the breast of Abraham, so conscious was He that in Him all

God's promises had their fulfilment. It is a saying which cannot be taken with prosaic literalness as it was taken by His opponents. Against their taunt that his age forbade any such knowledge of Abraham, He declared His pre-existence, a declaration which was dealt with in the first article of this series. It provoked an attempt at stoning Him (56–59).

(3) Renewed provocation was given to His opponents by the miracle of giving sight to the blind man on the Sabbath (ix). The points of theological interest in this story are the following: Jesus' denial of the necessary connexion between evil and sin, and declaration that man's necessity is God's opportunity (ver. 3), His claim for faith as the Son of Man (reading ἀνθρώπου instead of θεοῦ as do Nestle and Westcott), and His assertion of a present judgment of men in their attitude to Himself (verses 36–41). (i.) His charge of wilful blindness so irritated His enemies, that madness was ascribed to Him; but the wonder of the miracle so impressed some that the suggestion was rejected (x. 19–21). Pressed vehemently to assert His Messiahship, Jesus replied that both in word and deed He had offered sufficient ground for faith, and that unbelief could be due only to alienation of spirit from Him. "You do not belong to my sheep" (verses 22–26). Thinking doubtless of the blind man's growth from darkness to light, Jesus at this point turned from His enemies to describe His desciples as His sheep, obedient to Him, and kept securely by Him, because given to Him, and held for Him by the Father's almighty power (verses 27–29).

(ii.) This thought was then developed in a comparison which cannot be described strictly as either parabolic or allegorical. His relation to His disciples was first of all presented as that of the shepherd who in contrast with the thief and robber has unhindered entrance into the sheepfold,

and whom the sheep willingly follow, as they know Him (x. 1–5). Not being understood at first, the contrast between Himself and His rivals, whom He described as thieves and robbers, was more fully developed, the reference being to the teachers and leaders of the Jewish nation who were in their antagonism to Him leading the people astray (verses 6–8). The evil intention of the thief is contrasted with His good intention (ver. 10). The desertion of the sheep by the hireling in time of danger is contrasted with His devotion to their interests even to death (verses 12–15). In verse 16 Jesus looked beyond the immediate present, the circle of His Jewish disciples to the wider range of His future ministry after His death to the Gentiles (ver. 16). This suggestion of a universal purpose need not be suspected. This "allegory" (Moffatt, παροιμίαν) sets forth on the one hand the difference between Jesus as the Good Shepherd and the scribes and Pharisees as thieves, robbers and hirelings, and on the other the intimacy of His relation to His disciples as His sheep, entire dependence and obedience on their part, constant solicitude and absolute devotion on His. In verse 9, which Moffatt properly brackets and which probably belongs elsewhere, Jesus describes Himself as the Gate; faith in Him, such as the blind man had exercised, was the condition of even beginning the life of discipleship.

(iii.) Led by the comparison of Himself to the shepherd to mention death as the utmost proof of devotion, Jesus more fully developed the thought. His voluntary surrender of His life was approved of God because in obedience to God, and evidence of the identity of His purpose with God's (verses 17, 18 and 30). The words "ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμεν" are not to be interpreted metaphysically, the neuter ἕν signifying unity of substance, and the plural ἐσμεν difference of person; but morally and religiously, as Jesus' defence of them shows. The attempt to stone Him for this

supposed blasphemy in claiming deity evoked a self-defence based on the use of the word *gods* in the Psalms for God's messengers. It is as consecrated and sent into the world by the Father that He alone claims to be the Son of God (verses 31–36). He offers as the test of His claim to faith the conformity of His actions to God's will. The mutual immanence of Father and Son is proved by moral resemblance (verses 37–38). Another attempt at arrest compelled withdrawal from Jerusalem ; but argument and appeal had not been altogether vain, for many disciples were won (verses 39–42).

(iv.) The critical problems of John xi. have already been discussed ; now we confine ourselves to the theological declarations. Martha's sorrowful reproach Jesus met by an assurance of Lazarus' resurrection, not in the remote future, but in the immediate present through Himself as the Resurrection and the Life, faith in whom secured eternal life. The appeal for her faith was answered by her confession of His Messiahship (verses 21–27). The sorrowful reproach of Mary (ver. 32) called forth no answer in words to comfort her, for Jesus Himself "chafed in spirit and was disquieted"; and either in sympathy with the sisters, or in compassion for the hopeless grief of men in the presence of death, "Jesus wept." Confident of His power, because assured of His answered prayer, He called Lazarus out of the opened grave (verses 32–44). If God cannot and will not raise the dead then Lazarus was not raised. But if God can and will, it is credible that the prayer of Christ was answered, and the power of God was revealed through Him, and thus His filial confidence in God was justified. If we believe that Christ was raised from the dead, need we disbelieve that God through Him raised Lazarus ? Here we must leave the problem, as no logical demonstration can solve it ; for the solution is bound up with the faith in Himself Christ

inspires in us, and the experience of the eternal life through that faith which becomes ours.

(v.) The impression made by this miracle is represented as so great, that the enemies of Jesus were forced to the resolve at any cost to repress the Messianic movement, which might bring down on Judæa the heavy hand of Rome. As a measure of political expediency Caiaphas advocated the execution of Jesus, although the evangelist attached to His utterance in view of His office a prophetic significance. Our faith does find the same world-wide meaning and worth in the death of Jesus, although our modern modes of interpretation forbid our finding in Caiaphas' words this prophetic oracle (verses 45–53).

(vi.) In this resolve on a judicial murder ended the Great Controversy, the course of which we have endeavoured to sketch. No attempt has been made, as in Westcott's commentary, to read Christian theology into almost every phrase and clause, but the intention has been to present broadly the historical situation, as it developed from stage to stage. Regarding the result of this discussion two remarks may be made. In the first place, I am more than ever convinced that the evangelist is not romancing; if he is, he is one of the most consummate realists in fiction, for so vivid is the impression he makes of reality. In the second place, I cannot find in Jesus' self-witness the advanced metaphysics of the ecclesiastical dogma of the person of Christ; but a moral conscience and a religious consciousness of intimacy with, dependence on, confidence in, obedience to God as Father, which may demand a metaphysical explanation, but is not metaphysical in intention. Opposition threw Jesus back more and more on God, and evoked in Him a fuller and firmer sense of the uniqueness and absoluteness of His relation as Son to God as Father.

Alfred E. Garvie.

THE MAP AS AN AID TO THE PREACHING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE appearance of the superb *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, planned and edited by Principal G. Adam Smith, and prepared under the direction of Dr. J. G. Bartholomew, will not only adequately meet an urgent need on the part of the biblical student, but should also tend to revive interest on the part of the preacher in the historical portions of Holy Writ. For the preparation of such a work as this it would have been difficult to secure a better combination than that of Drs. Smith and Bartholomew, the one perhaps the leading living authority upon the geography of Bible lands, and the other a supreme master of the whole art and craft of map-making. Their joint labours have co-operated to produce a work of priceless value, which should find a place in the library of every serious biblical student.

It is now a good many years ago that the attention of the present writer was captured by a remark of the late E. A. Freeman with reference to the value of the map as an auxiliary to the effective study of history—a matter upon which it may be said, *en passant*, that master-historian was accustomed to lay considerable stress. As, in a humble way, himself a student of history the writer has times out of mind made practical proof of the serviceableness of the hint thus obtained. His experience has doubtless been that of many others, who have felt, perhaps more particularly in reading the historical portions of the Old Testament, the need of having at hand a really authoritative historical atlas of the Holy Land. This *desideratum* is now at length put at the disposal of all who desire to avail themselves of it.

Before passing on to the consideration of what is more especially the topic of the present paper, it may perhaps be not undesirable to give some indication of the character and of the possibilities of usefulness, alike to the student and the preacher, of the publication now under review.

One of the secrets of making history interesting is to be found in the faculty of projecting oneself out of the present into the past, breathing its atmosphere and sharing in its life, whereby the narrative of the historian takes on somewhat of the character of the relation of a personal experience. It may be admitted that this faculty is, in no small measure, a matter of natural aptitude ; but not entirely so, for it may be cultivated with some success ; and whatever natural ability to do this one may happen to possess, be it great or small, is susceptible of being improved by deliberate effort. There are of course various aids to the cultivation of this faculty, conspicuous among which is the exercise of a disciplined imagination—using this latter term in its proper scientific sense. But imagination, unless it is to mislead, must have suitable material to work upon. Its starting-point is of necessity the written records of the past ; but these need supplementing. Second in importance to the study of the records may perhaps be placed travel, and first-hand acquaintance with historic sites. In the case of the Holy Land, however, for obvious reasons, such first-hand knowledge is not obtainable by the majority of preachers and many students ; for them it is therefore necessary to fall back upon the picture and the map. So far as the latter is concerned it is now possible to do more in this way than has hitherto been altogether easy ; for it is no exaggeration to say that the intelligent use of this noble atlas will enable the student to acquire a tolerably clear mental picture of the Holy Land, including not only

the contour of the country, but the general character of the vegetation, agriculture, and geological features of any portion of it with which he may, at the moment, be more particularly concerned. Thus it is made easy to take, under the most comfortable conditions, what may be regarded as the first step in the direction of interesting writing or preaching of sacred history. Some further reference to this point, with illustrative examples, will be found below.

Without attempting anything in the nature of exhaustive treatment, it may perhaps, at this point, be desirable to give the reader some idea of what Dr. Smith's *Atlas* actually contains. There are in all sixty pages of maps, which are divided into four groups or parts. The first of these contains the Bible Lands series, including maps of the ancient world and the more famous ancient empires, together with a very fine double-page contour map of Egypt and the Sinai peninsula, which will prove an invaluable auxiliary to the study of the exodus and wilderness periods.

The second part consists of general maps of Palestine, illustrative of trade routes and communications, economics, elevations and depressions of the surface of the country, geology and vegetation. It includes also what is perhaps, on the whole, the most valuable feature of the entire work, a splendidly executed section map of Palestine on a scale of one-quarter inch to a mile. There are altogether eight double-page sections, which, within the necessary limitations of the scale to which the map is drawn, reveal in clear relief the physical character and topography of every portion of the Holy Land. By the aid of this map, and by reference to the general maps mentioned above, it is possible for the student or preacher to form a fairly accurate picture of the local surroundings, or natural setting of any incident upon which he may happen to be at work. Thus he is put in the way of getting local colour, and that air of veri-

similitude which so greatly enhances the interest of either the written or the spoken word.

The historical maps proper form the contents of the third and fourth parts. In the former is presented the most complete series of historical maps of Palestine with which the present writer is acquainted, some of them illustrative of periods which rarely receive the separate attention of the cartographer. As an indication of the adequacy with which all requirements are met it needs only to give the complete list of the maps included in this section. The periods selected for separate treatment are as follows: before the coming of Israel; the settlement and the Judges; Saul; David and Solomon; Elijah and Elisha, i.e. the divided kingdoms; 720 B.C. to the Exile; under the Persians; Maccabean age; Alexander Jannæus; Pompey's rearrangement; Mark Antony; Herod I; time of Christ; kingdom of Agrippa I; rule of the Procurators; Agrippa II. The comparative study of these maps will bring much grist to the mill of the student of Hebrew history. This part also includes half-a-dozen plans of Jerusalem at various periods, and a very fine double-page plan of the city as it is to-day.

The fourth part is devoted to the Christian era. The maps included in this group are of course for the more part, though not exclusively, illustrative of Church History, rather than of Biblical History proper. Some of them are of exceeding interest; such, for instance, as the very fine contour map of Asia Minor intended more particularly to indicate the positions of the seven Churches of the Apocalypse; the map of Palestine in the fourth century according to Eusebius and Jerome; and a political map of modern Palestine, which will be found of peculiar interest at the present moment. There are also included reproductions of two medieval maps, one of them the work of a thirteenth-

century monk of Colmar based upon a still earlier map, which in its turn is said to have been based upon an original of the mid-fourth century ; the other is the work of a Venetian Patrician of the early seventeenth century, who not only paid five visits to the Holy Land, but also availed himself of the results achieved by earlier workers dating perhaps as far back as the early fourteenth century. These maps are of first-rate interest as examples of medieval cartography, and as enabling us the better to appreciate the state of geographical knowledge at the periods from which they sprang. Any knowledge of this kind that he can by any means pick up will prove of undeniable advantage to the historical student.

Such, in merest outline, are the contents of this most comprehensive work ; to which, it ought to be added, are prefixed, in addition to a very useful set of chronological tables, a series of notes to each map in the collection. These notes will be of no small service to those who wish to make the Atlas a starting-point for the more serious study of the most interesting subject therein opened up. They provide a compact but remarkably complete bibliography of the entire field of sacred geography, and afford authoritative guidance for further reading both general and special. In addition to the bibliography, they also contain not a little matter of a critical character, such, for example, as the discussion of frontier lines, trade routes, and disputed sites. In the case of the historical maps the notes are themselves in the main historical, and Principal Smith keeps well within the limits of his performance in a prefatory remark to the effect that "I have drawn up these notes so as to present an outline of the history of Syria and especially of Israel from the earliest times to the reign of the last Jewish monarch, Agrippa II."

Where so much is given it may perhaps appear a little

unreasonable to ask for more ; yet even in the case of a work so complete and comprehensive as that given to us by Drs. Smith and Bartholomew there is, in the opinion of the present writer, one omission to which some further reference will be made in the sequel, one, however, which might well have been suffered to pass by unmentioned, save for the fact that it may very readily be remedied, even without waiting for the appearance of a new edition.

Sufficient perhaps has now been said to give a fair idea of the scope and general character of this most welcome addition to our facilities for Bible study. It now remains to give some practical indication of the use to which it may be put. So far as the historical maps proper are concerned little need be said. It will suffice to make the slightest mention of the fact that the comparative study of these maps will bring in a quick return, in the form of a clearer grasp of the ebb and flow of Hebrew political history. The study of the movements of frontiers with the aid of a reliable series of historical maps cannot fail to throw some valuable light upon the general trend of a nation's history. Such study will be peculiarly profitable in the case of that one among the peoples of antiquity which, small people as it was so far as mere numbers and extent of territory were concerned, more than any other has contributed to shape the destinies of mankind, and to lay down the lines along which has proceeded the historical development of our race.

Quite apart, however, from comparative study of the historical maps, a rich field of investigation is opened up to the possessor of this work. Take, for example, the case of the student who is at work upon the Hebrew conquest of Palestine. In such a familiar passage as Joshua ix. 1–2 we read of a confederacy of peoples by which Joshua was fronted shortly after he had gained a foothold west of Jordan. By reference to the contemporary historical map he is

enabled to locate the several peoples mentioned. Next, turning to the orographical map, he acquires a general idea of the configuration of the ground in the several territories occupied by the peoples in question. The general idea thus gained will then be supplemented by following out the contours indicated in the large section map. If the student has any knowledge of rock-formations the geological map will make further contribution to the knowledge thus gained. The general direction of the valleys will afford a hint as to the facilities for communication, which may be followed up by reference to the old-world equivalent of the modern railway map. The water-supply will not of course be overlooked, while special maps are ready to hand which will inform him as to the character of the vegetation and the economic activities of the district which his inquiry has, at the moment, in view. Thus some idea will be obtained of the nature-conditions under which the pre-settlement peoples of Canaan severally lived, their facilities for communication with one another, and their industrial life.

The information thus acquired is of no small value, affording as it does data by use of which imagination may be able to create a mental picture of the national or tribal life of these old-world peoples, who thus, ceasing to be mere names, become communities of living men and women, with whom contact has been effected by bridging over the gulf of centuries. It must of course be frankly admitted that any results achieved in this way are, in considerable measure, conjectural. The circumstances of the case indeed make that inevitable ; but conjecture, disciplined and under proper restraint, non-dogmatic in character, and susceptible of modification in the light of any new information which may come to hand, is a most potent instrument of historical research.

When, by some such process of inquiry as that indicated in the preceding paragraphs, the vanished peoples of Canaan have been made to live again, it need hardly be pointed out that the true character of the enterprise which Joshua took in hand, when he led Israel up to possess the Promised Land, will be more clearly grasped than would otherwise be possible. The attitude of the reader towards the ancient narrative will, in the meantime, have undergone a complete change; no longer a dry-as-dust record of a dead past, it will have become for him a living story which evokes an interest similar to that aroused by the dispatch of a modern war corespondent. It is scarcely needful to add that if the preacher, by some such means as these indicated above, can make the episode of which he may be speaking alive to himself, he will not only deal with it to far greater advantage, but complaints, on the part of the congregation, as to the dulness of the sermon will be few and far between.

Similar study of the tribal territories of the Hebrews might also be turned to good account. When all that these maps can teach about the local surroundings, nature-conditions, and so forth of the various tribes, has been carefully pondered, it might be interesting, with the aid of such references in Holy Writ as throw any light upon their various characters and fortunes, to consider to what extent these last were influenced by local environment and physical conditions. The data are, in this particular case, not perhaps superabundant; but it would none the less appear that there is room for some useful work along these lines.

As a further example one might take the case of Joshua, his headquarters being established at Gilgal, when Jericho had fallen into his hands. On a quarter-inch scale the contours which it is possible to insert do not, of course, supply all the information actually required by a general

in the field. But, if not sufficient for the planning of a campaign, this map does afford no small assistance to the student who is simply following out the course, and attempting to understand the strategy of a campaign that has actually been fought. It is quite possible to trace, for instance, the probable line of advance followed by the small force detailed for the assault upon Hai. That the enterprise was not unencumbered by difficulty appears from the first glance at the map. For setting out, as it must have done, from a point more than 800 ft. below sea level, the expeditionary force, first moving along the banks of a rushing mountain stream, then on from pass to pass by a route almost everywhere commanded by higher ground, ever struggled upward until at length it came in sight of its objective more than 2000 ft. above the level of the sea—an ascent of something like 3,000 ft. in a journey, as the crow flies, of little more than fourteen miles. That an expedition of this kind, if lightly undertaken, and with insufficient preparation, as appears in this particular instance to have been the case, should end in disaster, is not at all a matter for surprise. A clear grasp of the topographical conditions, by which this abortive enterprise was hampered throughout, will greatly assist the preacher to handle it with effect.

The results obtained up to this point, substantial as they are, do entirely exhaust the resources of the map, careful study of which, in addition to supplying the material facts indicated in the preceding paragraph, will call into play the imagination of the student. By a legitimate exercise of that faculty he may, with some degree of life-likeness, be enabled to visualise the country in which this little campaign was fought. In other words, he will in imagination himself accompany the expedition, and its incidents will in consequence be to him no mere details gleaned from an ancient record, but memories of things which he has actually

seen. His narrative will in consequence approximate to the relation of a personal experience, a fact which will contribute in no small measure to enhance its liveliness and interest. The ability thus to live oneself into and to see the past is one of the great secrets of the effective presentation of history, whether in the press, the classroom, or the pulpit. As already remarked, such ability is no doubt in part a matter of mental temperament and natural aptitude ; it is, however, in part also possible of acquirement, and the reward of endeavour ; and it is well within the powers of the average minister, by the intelligent use of this fine Atlas, to accomplish more than he would perhaps deem possible in the way of cultivating this faculty. The labour expended will bring in a rich return, alike in the form of personal enjoyment, and of the added attractiveness and force of his pulpit utterances.

One aid to the process of visualisation is, however, lacking. This I venture to mention less by way of complaint than because the omission is one which can very readily be made good. The addition of a good double-page photo-relief map of Palestine, such as might readily be made from a direct photograph of one of the many large scale models now available, would be most acceptable, and of no small service in assisting the student to gain a clear idea of the landscapes of the Holy Land. Such a map might conveniently be carried in a pocket at the end of the volume. It could thus most conveniently be viewed side by side with any map upon which the student might happen to be at work. Is it too much to hope that editors and publisher may yet see their way to issue as a supplement such a map as that suggested, together with the necessary pocket, which could readily be inserted in the Atlas by those who already possess it ?

This paper touches but the fringe of a large subject ;

but perhaps enough has been said to indicate how important it is, and how valuable an addition to the preacher's equipment a really good atlas may be made. Once the map has been made use of in the ways indicated, and in others which will naturally suggest themselves, its value will become so apparent that a thoroughly reliable and well-executed series of maps, such as those provided in this volume, will henceforth be regarded as indispensable.

W. Ernest Beet.

THE MOSAIC CODES AND POPULAR HEBREW RELIGION.

It has long been recognised by the majority of Old Testament scholars that in the Pentateuch must be distinguished five documents, known by the five alphabetical titles of J, E, D, H, and P. Those who still defend a single, presumably Mosaic, authorship, like Orr and Dahse, are obliged to assume an amount of alteration of the original text (not to say tampering with it) which removes it, under any circumstances, to a considerable distance from the state in which it was left by its author; and the industrious and multiform labours of Wiener have not been generally felt to have touched the heart of the problem, nor shaken, or even recognised, the broad foundations on which the so-called critical view has been built up.

We are thus led to regard the Pentateuch, not as a single work in five books, but a composite work by five authors. But the change is not quite so simple as this. Each of the documents has been found to split up into several strata; thus Gordon, in the *Early Narratives of Genesis*, discovers J^1, J^2, J^3, in the first twelve chapters of Genesis; and Steuernagel (*Einleitung in das A.T.*, Leipzig, 1912)

is in agreement with most scholars in finding side by side with the four primary sources (i.e., not including H), four sets of subsidiary sources, as well as a number of redactors. Baentsch would distinguish between at least four strata in the Holiness Code (Lev. xvii. to xxvi.); and the groundwork of P (Pg) is without difficulty separated from P^1, P^2, etc.

To many minds such theories may seem to verge on the ridiculous. Is it possible to imagine such an array of authors or redactors working over the same material? Does not such a suggestion point to those very literary subtleties which "criticism" denies to the age when the Old Testament rose into being? There is much plausibility and some truth in the accusation. If for every discrepancy we are to imagine a new author, we shall want a small army of literary men; and we shall also be forgetting the ease with which literary men can fall into inconsistencies.

As a matter of fact, the phenomena which have led to the division and subdivision of J and his fellows really point to the existence of schools or groups; and these, not so much of authors as of thinkers and narrators. The circumstances of literary composition and tradition, at a time when books were luxuries and reading a rare accomplishment, all point to this; and the Biblical references to "sons of the prophets," "those who speak in proverbs," "the sons of Asaph," and the "scribes," all suggest the existence of various bodies of men working more or less (if we may use a very modern phrase) along lines of corporate thought.

The broad marks of distinction between these different schools have been carefully worked out. But there are several directions in which a great deal still waits to be done. What, for example, were the sources from which J and E and the priestly writers drew their materials? For the bulk of their historical material we seem to have no more data than enable us to refer to tradition and some official

or semi-official annals and records. For the early narratives of Genesis, the existence of Babylonian parrallels suggests more difficulties even than it solves.

A similar question may well be asked with regard to the laws. However we read them, it is obvious that a long history lies behind them. Whether we take a few chapters only (e.g. Exod. xxii., Lev. xix., Num. vi.), or the whole body of laws in the Pentateuch, they can no more have emerged entire from the brain of a single man than can the last nine chapters of Ezekiel. If we regard Moses as the legislator, the question is obviously of supreme importance for our estimate of his work. As C. H. W. Johns has recently pointed out,[1] the dependence of certain parts of the Pentateuchal legislation on the great code of Hammurabi is as undeniable as it is complicated; and at the same time a considerable amount of the Mosaic legislation (e.g. lists of clean and unclean animals, actions not to be performed by priests, rites of purification for bodily diseases) is clearly based on widely known taboos, and is peculiar neither to the Hebrews nor to the Semitic races as a whole. Did Moses set to work as the authors of the Twelve Tables are said to have done, collecting and making a choice from all the worthiest existing laws he could find? Or did he simply edit and review laws already recognised among the Hebrews?[2]

[1] *Schweich Lectures*, 1912.

[2] Quite apart from the general arguments for the "critical" division of the Pentateuch, it would be difficult to think of Moses as originating all the legislation which is given by his name. The difference in tone and outlook between Exodus xxi. and Leviticus xvi., or even between Deuteronomy and Numbers as a whole, remind us of those between Plato's *Republic* and his *Laws*. But whatever Moses was, he was not a philosopher sketching ideal constitutions like Plato, and altering his views as he went on. It is true that several of the students of Plato's Academy were invited to draw up bodies of law for other states, as Moses is supposed to have done for Israel; but both the heterogeneity of the Mosaic legislation, and the indubitable antiquity of many of its provisions, show how distant and unreliable is the analogy.

If, however, we follow the more widely accepted view, and regard the legislation as divisible into four codes, the question of the sources is of equal interest. For if these codes are due to schools or groups of legal authorities, we cannot but regard such schools as working on existing materials. These materials may in part be traced to the influence, more or less direct, of the great law book of Hammurabi. But there is much in each of the codes which no mere reference to Hammurabi will explain. And while many of the provisions point back to earlier Semitic or quite primitive ideas, these are worked over and concealed, till one is at a loss to know how they should have been retained at all.

Let us now assume the existence of four codes in the Pentateuch, the Book of the Covenant, D, H, and P; we have then to ask what were the ideals of the different schools by which the use they made of their material was controlled. The question would be easier to answer if any of the codes could be regarded as approaching anything like completeness. But if one thing is clear about each of them, it is that they are but fragments. Each leaves on one side certain large departments of life; and with regard to the subjects of which they treat, many questions are left unanswered. For instance, in Leviticus iii. it is clear that the author's chief interest is not with the ritual of sacrifice as a whole, but with one part of it—the care with which the fat and blood are to be offered. In Leviticus v. 7–13, nothing is said as to whether the priest or the offerer decides the kind of victim to be sacrificed. None of the codes contains any definite directions as regards commercial dealings with foreigners, the raising of civil revenue, and other equally important matters.

The code of Hammurabi, although prepared doubtless for a society far more advanced than that of the age of the

Book of the Covenant, gives rules for many occasions concerning which the student looks in vain to the latter book for quite necessary guidance; and the Mishna treatise *Yoma* shows how many doubtful points even of ritual are unprovided for in P's account of a single festival, the Day of Atonement.

The truth is that the several codes make no claim to be comprehensive.[1] They are rather tractates on special subjects, or, as we might put it, they are collections of various and even loosely collected statutes. In some cases the statutes so collected seem to have been flung together haphazard (e.g. Lev. xix.). Evidently the legislative groups had their reasons for desiring to express themselves on certain points, and took no especial interest in others. These latter could be left to the control of traditional principles and precedents.

On a closer inspection it becomes clear that each of the four codes is the result of a compromise. To say this, indeed, is to say no more than that Hebrew codes are like all other codes. But in the case of the Hebrews the compromises are of especial interest. In the first place, each of the codes implies a body of familiar civil and social practices. We cannot suppose that any Hebrew legislator invented the institution of slavery, or manumission, or the weekly rest day, or the principles of the law of torts, any more than he could have invented the family system, and the illegality of murder and theft. In all these cases he could introduce or modify details (like a modern secretary of State), whether they were likely to be obeyed or not; but he had to work within narrow limits. Secondly, the

[1] If we were to attribute the codes to a single legislator, we should have to suppose that he left his work imperfect, or that he deliberately refused to legislate for many highly important controversial points, or that he produced his laws as they occurred or were suggested to him, or that much of his work has perished.

codes imply the existence of a body of religious ideas, some of them curiously similar to what we should describe as pagan or heathen; and most of these found expression in social acts and ritual—such acts, as regularly happens, being perpetuated and developed when the original reason for the details and their performance has long been forgotten. The innate conservatism of human nature is never seen more clearly than in this side of man's religious life. The history of ritual would even suggest that the less a rite is understood the more resolutely is any alteration resented.

But in the Hebrew codes we observe a third element, a leaven and a ferment of criticism, of progress and religious idealism. The codes are not simply documents in which traditional ideas are brought up to date. They are attempts to combine the older rules with the newer and more vital religious convictions of the age or the group. Hebrew thought cannot be understood unless the existence of a thorough-going and even audacious spirit of criticism is recognised in its midst. In the prophets, indeed, it is unmistakeable. It reveals itself constantly in the Psalms. It is the real agent of development in the codes. The reason why it is often overlooked there is found in the limitations under which the legal reformers were obliged to work. Prophets could speak out whatever they felt, whether their public would hear or forbear. Many of the less "orthodox" of the Psalmists seem to have written in the first instance for themselves alone. But the legal writers had to carry their public with them, or their labour was lost. Their pace was of necessity the pace of the slowest members of the community.

These formative religious convictions may be classed under three heads, as they relate to humanity, monotheism, or ritual purity. It will be readily allowed that monotheism is the

only religious view about God which finds definite expression in any of the codes. The prophets are full of protests against the disastrous fascination of polytheistic practices for the Hebrews. In the light of these the refusal of the codes to countenance a single reference to the worship of other gods is significant. The humanitarian impulse is strongest in D and H; their interest in the current civil and social practices of the nation is keen and searching. Indeed, the ideals of justice, honesty and kindliness, as laid down in these codes, are practically identical with those emphasised unceasingly by the prophets. The importance of ritual purity, raised to the matter of highest moment by Ezekiel, overshadows everything else in P; and a comparison of P with parallel passages in D, or references to the account of Ezra's struggles on his return from Babylon, will suggest how drastic were the ecclesiastical and ritual reforms contemplated by its originators.[1]

Let us illustrate this characteristic of the codes, more especially as regards the matter of ritual purity, by examining the current religious ideas which D and H, and still more definitely P, set out to reform. As in other early societies, such ideas can be arranged in two large divisions, the general foundation and the special or individual superstructure. This distinction can be seen in localities as widely separated as the jungles of India, the marshes and forests of West Africa, and the deserts of Central Australia. All primitive peoples have many beliefs in common.

[1] Interesting descriptions of the scope of humanitarianism in the code of Hammurabi will be found in C. H. W. Johns' *Schweich Lectures*, 1912. For the ecclesiastical reforms in P, suggestive analogies will be found in the treatment of the Roman service books by the authors of the English Prayer Book, or in the alterations introduced into the successive editions of the Prayer Book itself. In each case these alterations are based on definite convictions; but the price of their acceptance was the narrowness of the bounds within which they were kept.

These, at the moment, it is the fashion to call animism.[1] But Spencer's rule that development is from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous appears to be quite applicable here; and the more elaborate beliefs and practices differ greatly.[2]

Foundation and superstructure, it must be admitted, are not always easy to separate. Ritual is everywhere the continuum. Old and new live side by side without suspecting that they really belong to different levels of thought and expression, and ought properly to have nothing to do with one another. Each influences and supports the other. In the case of Israel, the distinction is less difficult than elsewhere; but at the same time Israel presents us with a complication which is unique. The superstructure, as we have called it, and more particularly the whole institution of sacrifice, appears in two forms; the first is the object of the polemic of the great prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries; the second is the system developed by the legislators, chiefly from the seventh to the fifth centuries. The former may be called the natural development. It was guided by outstanding official influence, and it exhibits a clear connection with the economic and political changes of the time. This was clearly recognised by the prophets themselves, who are for that reason almost as much statesmen and social reformers as religious leaders. The system, however, might have survived their attacks; at all events the reaction of Manasseh followed the reforms

[1] One of the latest of these beliefs to be traced over a large part of the world is that in *Mana* or *Orenda* (see, for example, R. R. Marrett's *Threshold of Religion*), that mysterious influence possessed both by impressive and forceful persons and striking or noticeable objects. Its names are legion, but the idea of it, in every continent, is one.

[2] For a suggestive comparison between the systems of sacrifice in India, Greece, and Ancient Palestine, see Hubert et Mauss, *Le Sacrifice* (*Mélanges de l'Histoire des Religions*, Paris. 1909). Each is based, as the authors believe, on the same general view, but diverging widely from one another.

of Hezekiah and Isaiah; and Jeremiah implies that Josiah's reforms were equally short-lived. But it was mortally wounded at the exile; and its rival, the system which reached its final form in P, found after the exile the opportunity, previously denied, for its own recognition.

But the older and more primitive ideas, embedded in Hebrew as in all other religions, were left almost unnoticed by the prophets. And when the prophets' attack was over, these remained to be the problem of the legal reformers. They may be briefly summed up as follows. All divinity is dangerous. It is charged with mysterious power either to bless or curse. It must indeed be approached, to secure the blessings and avoid the curses. But this can only be done with extreme caution. In addition to this caution and the rules based on it, certain other rules must be observed by the worshippers of the divine, any infraction of which ("sin," as it is called in the language both of the earlier and the legal parts of the Old Testament) is liable to be severely punished.

These rules seem to us, as doubtless to most of those who obeyed them, quite arbitrary. Certain articles of food and certain sex connections were to be avoided; certain days were closed to ordinary work; contact with blood and dead bodies incapacitated for normal life, as also certain diseases and physical weaknesses. Breaches of these rules, voluntary or involuntary, entailed serious consequences, only to be escaped, if at all, by various piacular rites.

The whole religious attitude was thus charged with fear. This is constantly illustrated in the Old Testament. No living thing must approach the mountain where Jahveh is present. Uzzah touches the tabooed or sacred ark, and the wrath of Jahveh breaks out upon him. How dark was the background of faith is shown by the institution of child sacrifice, which persisted till the seventh century,

or was perhaps then revived. The sinister practice lived on as persistently as that of the Grove of Nemi.

These primitive ideas are far earlier than the rise of the worship of Jahveh. They suggest the belief in many spirits rather than the cult of one god. Comparative religion has shown in what wide regions of the world the subordinate but evil spirits are feared and propitiated, while the supreme and good but distant creator and over-lord is neglected. To Israel, however, Jahveh, though supreme, was never a God who could be neglected. Properly understood, Jahvism was a definite protest against all the beliefs just described, partly because Jahveh was the only God who "counted" ("Hear, O Israel, Jahveh our God is one Jahveh," Deut. vi. 4), and partly because Jahveh was a God who could be known, i.e. who had a definite character and did not act from caprice or spite. If He punished, it was for disobedience and wickedness (Amos iii. 2).[1]

This protest against the old superstitious terrors is seen at its best in Deuteronomy. The authors of that code, presumably men who had lived through or inherited the traditions of Hezekiah's reformation, could have no sympathy with animism in however developed a form. All gods save Jahveh were false; and all worship, unless it were performed at Jerusalem, was heathen. Further, nothing could be more categorical than their teaching that Jahveh loved His people and looked for their love in return,

[1] Thus fear, in the sense of dread of dark and mysterious divine powers, is effectually countered. The Mosaic law is generally supposed to be based on this principle of fear. In reality, the reverse is the case. When the exact method of atoning for every fault or inadvertence was prescribed by Jahveh's grace, fear was replaced by confidence. W. Robertson Smith's view of the earlier Jahvism as a religion of "merry shoutings," "being joyful before the Lord," would seem to conflict with this statement. But even a religion founded on fear may have its hilarious social festivals; and there is always something serious and stern about the true worship of Jahveh, while prophets and legislators alike dread the influence of the *Haggim* or popular feasts.

and that such love could only be shown by Israel's obedience to Him and by justice and kindliness in Israel itself. Only one thing could bring punishment: the refusal to obey or give heed.

All this laid the axe to the root of the tree of animistic beliefs. Yet the Deuteronomists did not attempt to destroy or repeal the system of taboos. On the contrary, it was reasserted. The change they made was to remove the old fear of the mysterious and supernatural—of some malicious demon who would make an unintentional omission the excuse for a curse or a plague. They replaced it by the fear of displeasing a gracious though watchful Jahveh, whom they regarded as Himself the source of the old and familiar taboos, but who had provided a way for escaping the consequences of their neglect or infringement (cf. Lev. xvii. 11). To take but two examples. The taboo upon blood is preserved; but its reason is not fear, but the certainty of blessing following on its observance (Deut. xii. 25). The taboo on eating animals that have died of themselves, also, is simply referred to the general principle of Israel's holiness unto Jahveh (Deut. xiv. 21).

This was a perfectly definite and intelligible attitude. But it was a compromise. The authors were not troubled —no one was ever troubled—by the arbitrariness of the traditional restrictions. But it is clear that they did not carry out their convictions to their logical conclusions, or else that they had not thought out all that their convictions implied. The courage which attacked the local shrines cannot be too highly praised. But the courage to attack the superstitions which flourished there was not equally conspicuous. The darker practices were forbidden or left unmentioned. The rest survived to introduce a contradiction into the conception of Jahveh Himself.

The authors of H approach more closely to the later

standpoint. As is well known, they were closely connected with Ezekiel. Ezekiel was chiefly interested in the prophetic denunciation of national wickedness, and the hope of securing order, symmetry and ritual cleanliness in everything pertaining to the worship of the Temple. The contemporary group of legislators responsible for H laid special stress on holiness, that is (in their use of the great word), on the very system of taboos which formed the soul of animism. They shared the warm sympathy felt by the Deuteronomic group for social and humane legislation and for mutual kindliness and "love" (Lev. xix.) in the community. Like their predecessors, they knew that Jahveh would only punish deliberate disobedience (Lev. xxvi.), but they clung to a conception of Jahveh more primitive than that of Deuteronomy. Their code, as we have it, is far from being complete. Many of the traditional restrictions are unmentioned. But those which do meet us are placed on the same level as Jahveh's moral requirements (Lev. xix.). Jahveh is Himself not simply a God of love, but one who demands the observance of two kinds of precautions, the one rational and moral, the other irrational and arbitrary. We are left in doubt whether the authors of the code evolved this union of set purpose, or acquiesced in it because they did not venture to proceed further towards consistency with their own higher convictions.

Still more interesting are the phenomena exhibited by the Priestly code. P has a far longer history than D or H. Its elaboration in Babylon, before Ezra brought it with him in 458 B.C. to Palestine, may well have occupied more than a century. And it is far more comprehensive. Apart from the details of the actual ministrations of the Priests and Levites in the sanctuary, and the number and value of the sacrifices, the traditional taboos are treated much more fully; but the attitude is the same as in the earlier codes.

For instance, childbirth always entails certain ritual disabilities in early religions: these are reduced to a minimum in Leviticus xii., and all vestiges of superstitious fear are removed. The departure of a demon of disease might be a matter of the greatest anxiety; in Leviticus xiv. 1–20, while the old rite for the expulsion of the demon is preserved, every element of uncertainty and dread disappears.

Some of the special features of P can easily be explained by the special circumstances of the period that followed the exile —the elaboration of ritual, now that the Temple services have become the great symbol of Jewish hopes; and the absence of the characteristic notes of the older Jahvism, viz., Jahveh's stern zeal for the obedience and happiness of His people, now that Israel's existence as an independent nation is no more. The "parenetic" element in D and H has also disappeared. But the references to the popular religious practices seem little else than reactionary or ultra-conservative. With the primitive desire to avoid the danger of the spirit-world is combined the classificatory minuteness of the legal schedule, as for instance in the law of "issues" or "leprosy in the house." In the same way, the characteristic and developed law of sacrifice in P is combined with such naïve ideas as that of a bird flying away with the contamination of disease over running water or the removal of sins from the community by an anima solemnly devoted to a demon. The annual festivals may be entirely robbed of their original agricultural character; the sacrifices may be no longer a reason for the joyous family or village gatherings of the older Hebrew social life; but these ancient ideas reappear in authorised ritual practice after the recognised authorities had neglected them for centuries.

It is quite impossible that the methodical and austere predecessors or contemporaries of Ezra could have invented this group of provisions; they could not even have under-

stood the hoary ideas which underlie it. But neither could they have disliked or suspected it. On the contrary, they are distinctly interested in it. Evidently it fitted in with the general purpose of their legislation. What was that? To concentrate the mind of the whole society on its religious duties, that is, on the scrupulous observance of the ritual commands of Jahveh. If this could be secured, and the ritual Torah fully obeyed, all the blessings of Jahveh would be won. Such being the problem, it would be solved much more easily if the practices which the people of the land already followed could be, as they were, circumcised into the new Jahvism, and instead of being stigmatised as idolatry, could be purged of their more objectionable elements and brought into the august shadow of the temple and the priesthood.

Unless these provisions had rested on the support of tradition and antiquity, it is difficult to see how they could have been enforced. Ezra's prohibition of mixed marriages needed all the influence and energy of Nehemiah to resist defiance. And a further circumstance aided the legislators. These practices arose in a time when the Deuteronomic rule of a single sanctuary had never been heard of. They imply the existence of a priest close at hand (e.g., the visit of the young mother to the shrine, Leviticus xii., or the appeal to the priest in the case of leprosy in house or garment, Leviticus xiii., xiv.). Wherever the Deuteronomic reforms were in operation these cults would share the fate of the local sanctuaries. But in the altered conditions after the return from exile, when the community extended over an area no larger than a small English county, the inconvenience of frequent approaches to one shrine would be reduced to a minimum.

The Priestly code was thus itself a compromise. It carried forward the religious ideas of the best minds in Israel;

and it secured the allegiance of the people of the land. In their bewildered minds, the lower religious ideas of the Hebrews previous to the fall of Jerusalem were combined with the results of the struggling, ill-regulated and disorganised life that endured in Judea through the fifty years of exile and followed the arrival of the returning Jews from Babylon. The Priestly code was in reality just fitted to be understood and accepted by them. But the code was also more than a compromise. All worship, all mention even, of the demons was eliminated, save in the one case of Azazel. All the coarser elements in the old religious festivals were banished. Indeed, superstitious fears and anxieties were gathered up into a solemn passion for separation from every thing that could be considered displeasing to Jahveh. Instead, superstition was transformed into religion by being regarded as the dominating attitude of the whole community, and by being concentrated on the worship of the one God.

Herein lies the value of P. Its recognition of a transformed animism has no message for us. Holiness has passed into a new world with the teaching of the New Testament. God, for us, is love in a sense undreamed of even in Deuteronomy. But

> A sensibility to sin,
> A pain to feel it near,

are needed as urgently to-day as in the fifth century B.C. And unless we recognise that the things which are pleasing to God must be the concern of the whole community, we can hope neither for safety nor for peace.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE.

THE VICARIOUS PENITENCE OF CHRIST.

THE view that Christ atoned for human sin by offering a vicarious repentance to God in our name has existed as a recognised form of theory for close upon sixty years, but it may be questioned whether it was ever so widely spread as now. Especially in the Church of England it has made many friends. The favour accorded to it is no doubt one more symptom of recoil from older views which had laid excessive emphasis upon the physical sufferings of Christ and tended to regard His work as the discharge of an official function that might be accompanied by, but in no sense necessarily involved on His part a sympathetic realisation of the experience of those on whose behalf He suffered. When it is said, for example, that had Jesus lived only a week after His birth redemption would nevertheless have been accomplished, or that the shedding of one drop of His blood would have purged the sins of the whole world, it is plain that His saving work has somehow become artificially detached from His spiritual history and experience, and that the mystery of atonement, of which all are profoundly conscious, has been turned into a purely enigmatical product of omnipotence operating on a sub-moral plane, instead of an amazing act of grace, far transcending the principles of common sense and ordinary morality, and making its Divine appeal to the free and conscious spirit. Whatever we may think of the theory of vicarious penitence, as a consistent or satisfying account of Christ's interposition, it at all events impresses the student as the fruit of devout

and intensely spiritual thought; of thought which moves, or aims at moving, on the level of New Testament religion at its highest, and which has with a great measure of success avoided the temptation to express an anti-legal Gospel in legal terms.

This paper falls naturally into three parts. In the first place some account will be given of the best-known expositions which have taken vicarious penitence as their leading principle of explanation. Next, the critical objections which seem to forbid our acceptance of the theory will be briefly set forth. Finally—and this part of the discussion of course matters most—search will be made for the religious motives which may be supposed to have prompted the theory, and which must somehow find expression in any doctrine of atonement that will satisfy or inspire the Christian mind.

It is fitting that we should start with Dr. McLeod Campbell, whose work, *The Nature of the Atonement*, published in 1856, belongs to that very small class of treatises on theology which are also felt to be great books of devotion. It is interesting to find a Continental observer like Pfleiderer express the opinion that by thrusting out Campbell from its midst the Scottish Church arrested its healthy theological development for more than half a century. To the end of his life, I believe, Dr. Chalmers derived real satisfaction from the memory that he had not voted for Campbell's deposition. It may be that Campbell failed to gain many adherents for the details of his special view, but there is small exaggeration in saying that since his time no British thinker who has not sat at his feet has been able to write rewardingly on the deepest problems of the Cross.

As is well known, Campbell discerns in the work of Christ two great aspects: that in which He is God's representative to man, and that in which He is man's representative before

God. Of the first a brief notice is sufficient. What Christ does in God's name is to manifest His Fatherliness, especially with regard to sin. In thus revealing the Father's will towards the sinful, Christ necessarily became a Man of sorrows, suffering thus just because He looked on sin and sinners with God's eyes and felt respecting them with God's heart. Thereby, in and through His pain, He condemned sin, and made known God's wrath and judgment upon it. But we must not call His sufferings penal. For the pain was endured in sympathy with God and as a vital part of the Son's witness-bearing to the Father.

The most distinctive characteristic of Campbell's view, however, lies in his treatment of the second aspect of the Saviour's work, that in which He deals with God on behalf of man. Edwards had in passing alluded to the thought —which he at once dismissed as untenable—that a sufficient satisfaction for sin might consist in an adequate repentance—or to use Edwards' own language, "a repentance, humiliation and sorrow for sin proportionable to the majesty despised." He assumed, says Campbell, that such a grief and repentance was out of the question. But far from being out of the question, it is the very heart of the matter; this adequate penitence Christ actually rendered to God in our name. As he puts it in a carefully worded passage: "That oneness of mind with the Father, which toward man took the form of condemnation of sin, would in the Son's dealing with the Father in relation to our sins, take the form of a perfect confession of our sins. This confession as to its own nature must have been a perfect Amen in humanity to the judgment of God on the sin of man."[1] Or even more explicitly thus: "That response has all the elements of a perfect repentance in humanity for all the sin of man—a perfect sorrow—a perfect contrition—all

[1] *Nature of the Atonement* (6th Ed.), pp. 116–7.

the elements of such a repentance, and that in absolute perfection, all—except the personal consciousness of sin; and in that perfect response in Amen to the mind of God in relation to sin is the wrath of God rightly met, and that is accorded to Divine justice which is its due, and could alone satisfy it."[1] Such an Amen to God's judgment, he argues, was due: due to the truth of things; due on our behalf, though of ourselves we had no power to render it; due from Christ as partaking of our nature and our true Brother; and it constitutes a fuller satisfaction to God's righteous heart of love than any punishment could be. It is not that Christ's sufferings show how God can punish sin; these sufferings are actually the Divine feelings towards sin, therefore their effect is to purify the sinner. "We feel," he writes, "that such a repentance as we are supposing would be the true and proper satisfaction to offended justice, and that there would be more atoning worth in one tear of the true and perfect sorrow . . . than in endless ages of penal woe."[2] All this was possible for Christ because, being what He was, He alone could realise completely the evil of sin's alienation. It was an expiatory penitence, and by spiritual participation in it we come to be at one with the righteousness and love of the Father. The feeling of God concerning sin has found its utterly satisfying response.

Near fifty years passed before Campbell's dominant idea was taken up by a kindred spirit and given a central place in an impressive and subtly conceived argument. This was in the late Dr. Moberly's *Atonement and Personality*. Moberly treats of what may be called the prolegomena to the theory in an analysis more delicate even than Campbell's. Thus in an early chapter he investigates the interior nature of penitence, and contends

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 117–8. [2] *Ibid.*, p 125.

that all penitence, as we know it, is and must be imperfect, inasmuch as past sin has made blunt and dull the sinner's consciousness of what sin is. None the less, we can form the conception of perfect penitence, though we cannot realise it in ourselves. It would be such a change of self, such a self-identity with holiness, as would by contradiction and negation of past evil make the past dead and plant the self once again in unity with righteousness. The imperfect penitence of sinners points to the reality of its own perfect ideal, and this in fact is found in Jesus Christ. As Moberly puts it: "The personal identity with righteousness in condemnation and detestation of sin, which penitence in ideal perfection would mean and be, is possible only to One who is personally Himself without sin." [1] This is the first stage of the argument.

The second stage is to the effect that vicarious penitence is a profound and redeeming fact of life. Personalities are not so distinct as we too readily assume; they are less and less distinct in proportion as love and unselfishness increase, so that men really can and do repent for each other. Indeed, the better any man is, the more he is capable of repenting vicariously for a loved one. Here Moberly adduces the case of a mother whose heart is broken for the sin of her child. She actually endures penitence, he contends, for her child's wrong-doing, and her capacity to do this depends not really on her own possible share of the guilt incurred, but upon the completeness of her own holiness. She is one with her child not in nature merely, but in love; and in love the community of nature is perfected. But all this even she is only up to a certain point: what fails in her is absolutely realised in Jesus. He was one by nature with the sinful, His love had an infinite depth and reach, and from His gazing perpetually

[1] *Atonement and Personality*, p. 43.

with undimmed vision on the holiness of God there resulted a unique consciousness of the interior character and horror of sin. When we consider this awareness, so piercing and so adequate, of what sin is, His perception of its character, which is also its doom, and His own inherent identity with righteousness, we see that in Him there were present all the conditions of a perfectly atoning penitence. Penitence, in short, attained in Him to its consummate form, but at the cost of life. Thus the perfect sacrifice of penitence offered by the sinless Christ is the true atoning sacrifice for sin. "In the bitter humiliation of a self-adopted consciousness of what sin is, He bowed His head to that which, as far as mortal experience can go, is so far at least the counterpart on earth of damnation."[1] Or as it is put in another place: "The suffering involved in this is not, in Him, punishment, or the terror of punishment; but it is the full realising, in the personal consciousness, of the truth of sin, and the disciplinary pain of the conquest of sin; it is that full self-identification of human nature, within range of sin's challenge and sin's scourge, with holiness as the Divine condemnation of sin, which was at once the necessity—and the impossibility—of human penitence."[2] Further, this consummation of penitence, involving such a strain of body, mind and will that it killed Him, is the death of sin, and the realisation of complete righteousness. And this transcendent act of penitence on Christ's part is made ours by the operation of the Holy Spirit transforming the human self from within, so making subjective in us what in Him had first been objective.[3] Its virtue becomes ours through the indwelling Spirit of Christ.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 133. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

[3] One element in the purpose of the Cross is to evoke penitence in us, but the principle that "like creates like," which at times seems to influence Dr. Moberly, will not cover the attribution of penitence to Jesus.

It ought to be noted that so far from ignoring or evading the natural objection that no man can repent of any sin but his own, Dr. Moberly deliberately faces this idea in one of his central chapters, and utterly denies it. For him such a conception of penitence is simply wrong. "Penitence," he writes, "in the perfectness of its full meaning, is not even conceivably possible, except it be to the personally sinless." [1] For penitence, at its deepest, is not only or chiefly regret for sin or the consciousness of guilt; it is definable, rather, as "self-identity with righteousness." So far as appears from this definition, Dr. Moberly would find a real difficulty in distinguishing penitence and holiness. They seem to form an equation.

His argument as a whole is virtually reproduced by his son, Mr. W. H. Moberly, in an essay on the Atonement in the Oxford collection of 1912 entitled *Foundations*. After replying to the individualistic objection that "I may feel sorrow, but I cannot intelligibly feel penitence for the sin of another in which I had no hand and which I could not have prevented" [2] by urging that this involves an impossibly atomic view of the moral life in which men are bound up together, he proceeds: "We may then continue to assert that vicarious penitence is the most 'saving' thing in experience; that it is possible, not in direct but in inverse proportion to the degree in which the penitent is himself tainted; and that the work of Jesus is to be conceived as the same thing raised to a much higher power." [3] He goes so far as to assert that if we dismiss "vicarious penitence" as unmeaning and impossible, the problem of atonement is insoluble. Mr. Moberly uses an illustration from *David Copperfield* which has appealed to many—the case of Mr. Peggotty and Em'ly. Let it be stated in his own words. "The girl was redeemed by her

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 117. [2] *Foundations*, p. 308. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 309.

father. Two conditions were necessary to make such redemption possible: the completeness of his love for her, which enabled him to identify himself with her in her shame, and his own undimmed goodness and purity which enabled him to bring her also to a true attitude towards her sin and towards the Moral Law." [1]

This, then, is the theory in its main outlines, set forth by three connected writers, no doubt with some personal difference of accent, yet with substantial agreement. It has occasionally been suggested that Haering of Tübingen advocates the same view, but this is not borne out by a careful inspection of his language. Haering is quite clear that to speak of Christ's repentance is to use words wrongly. But he holds that in the discharge of His vocation the consciousness of our Lord included such a painful realisation of the antagonism of all sin to God, such an infinite grief for sin, as in God's sight forms a supplement to the imperfect penitence of man, and fulfils the ends of punishment. This is not the theory of Campbell or Moberly, though it may contain much of the truth they have endeavoured to formulate.

What are some of the objections to which their construction seems to be exposed?

To begin, there is nothing in the New Testament in the least resembling the view that Christ repented of our sins vicariously. This is not urged in the least by way of appeal to the words of Scripture as externally authoritative —an idea with which the Christian mind is ceasing to work and will soon not be able to work any more. Nevertheless a spiritual principle to which the New Testament contains not even a faint allusion is, one feels, a good deal more likely to be wrong than right. It is an immense drawback in a theory that over against it there should stand an in-

[1] *Ibid.*, p., 308.

different or neutral Scripture, just as a proposed new canon of artistic creation which could be put in no intelligible relation to the æsthetic achievement of Greece in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. would make small impression on the best minds. Mr. W. H. Moberly quotes the apostolic phrases "He bore our sins" and "He was made sin for us," as if they meant vicarious penitence ; [1] but not a shadow of exegetical proof for such an interpretation can be given, nor have I found anywhere a serious attempt to show, by an examination of what they say, that the writers of the New Testament had vicarious penitence in their minds.

Again, the application to Jesus, the sinless One, of the idea of vicarious penitence is really not borne out by what happens in human life. If we take the instances already referred to, that of the mother repenting for her sinning child, or of Mr. Peggotty, it seems only a confusion of thought to speak in either case of a strictly *vicarious* repentance. Love and sorrow are there, assuredly : "sorrow," as it has been put, "that expresses love, and love that deepens sorrow." Even shame is there. But if penitence too is there, as it well may be, I am quite sure that if we could get at Mr. Peggotty's own mind we should find that this penitence was due to the sense that he might have contributed, by some neglect of care or personal example, to the forces which led his child to ruin. "Had I been a better man," we should all say under analogous conditions, "my friend might not have sinned." The parent's penitence, in short, is for his own sin, and in so far as it overflows beyond his own life, and takes in more than that, this is because he is a responsible member of a sinful group or society. "I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips." To appeal therefore at this point to the undoubted fact of "national" humilia-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 307.

tion and repentance is illegitimate, for when we as individuals join in national contrition, we have collectively partaken in the sin we then confess. You cannot step over from this to the vicarious penitence of One who, *ex hypothesi*, had never added to the sin of the world.

The most obvious criticism, however, and not the least grave, is that penitence, as a term, is unfortunate and incorrect. For it not merely implies but includes the element of conscious guilt. This is virtually conceded by two of the writers under review. Campbell, in a passage quoted formerly, declares that our Lord's response to the judgment of God has all the elements of a perfect repentance, "all —excepting the personal consciousness of sin." And Mr. W. H. Moberly, who believes that the idea of Christ's penitential atonement goes to the very root of human need, takes pains at the outset to define penitence carefully, and actually defines it in such a way as to destroy its utility for his purpose. "Penitence," he writes, "is a word which is often abused; and if it is to serve our purpose we must use it with its fullest meaning; and understand by it no easy emotion of self-loathing or self-contempt, but a real change of purpose of heart and mind." [1] A real change of purpose—this is the heart of the matter; the penitent man loathes what he used to love, looks back upon his sin, owns it as his, then disowns it before God with all his might. Can we transfer *this* to Jesus? [2] Always there

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 293. Bushnell writes *à propos* of McLeod Campbell: "Is it clear when Mr. Campbell speaks of repentance in this manner that he means any such thing as we commonly understand by the word? Does he mean that Christ forsakes the sin of the world as being in the guilt of it, and casting it off with a hard and heavy struggle that amounts to a moral revolution of his nature? That would scarcely be a reverent imputation" (*Forgiveness and Law*, 31).

[2] We are often led to ask whether those who use the conception of "vicarious penitence" really mean what they say, and are not employing loose and rhetorical language which they endeavour to secure against misunderstanding by putting alongside of it language of quite different

is the conviction in *my* repentance that I have been stained and made guilty, accompanied by the strong resolve to forsake evil; and unless we mean to pay ourselves with words we cannot put down this element of guilty self-reproach to the imperfect character of penitence as sinners feel it. Jesus had no experimental knowledge of moral evil; He had never put His will into sin or affirmed a sinful volition; to speak of His penitence, accordingly, is wilfully to redefine a word, to insist that in one case it can be employed without that core of meaning which everywhere else is constitutive; and though this may at first attract by its paradox, it will not bear calm scrutiny. Dr. Moberly's argument clearly proceeds on the assumption that Christ could only know the horror of sin adequately if He held towards it an attitude capable of being correctly described as penitential; but there is no reason why we should grant this. His oneness of mind with the Father, about moral evil as about all else, furnishes a true and sufficient basis for Jesus' grief-stricken realisation of the infinite sinfulness of sin.

It is further necessary to point out that the penitential theory seems to revive an old mistake. When we ask ourselves why the old doctrine of simple penal substitution, with all its elements of power, failed to satisfy, the answer is

import. When they say "penitence," what they are thinking of is "pain endured at the sight of sin"; which is by no means the equivalent of penitence, but simply one element in it. Thus one valued writer who asserts that, unless we are to abandon altogether the attempt to understand Christ's sufferings, "there is nothing with which these can be so well compared as the experience of an awakened conscience," in analyzing shortly afterwards the actual content of Christ's experience specifies only His "profound sense of the sin of all men, His identification of Himself with the race by whose members it had all been committed, and the pain He suffered in consequence." But this last complex feeling is not repentance; it is the agony felt over sin by One who had no need to repent. And in Moberly passages frequently occur proving that he is only using "penitence" by a *tour de force*, as thus: "the sacrifice of supreme penitence, that is, of perfect will-identity with God in condemnation of sin" (p. 129).

in large part to be found in the impossibility of believing One to have been punished who could not on any terms be imagined as feeling the consciousness of guilt. Punishment is not indeed always correlated with the sense of ill-desert, but it ought to be, and in any situation conceived as having actually been produced by God, it must be. But this principle, fatal to the idea that God punished Christ, cannot again be discarded. If Christ was penitent, a feeling of guilt must have been in His mind, and we are back amongst the very presuppositions which made the older doctrine seem untenable. In both cases, there is the same psychological unreality.

A final objection to making vicarious penitence the central thing in our Lord's atonement may be put thus. At bottom the atonement is something provided, something done by God; it is an expression of His nature. Always in religion God is the doer, we are the receivers only. This means, I cannot but think, that whatever constitutes the central core of atonement must be predicable of God; you must be able to carry it back to God Himself and say—What Christ felt, did, suffered was in the truest sense felt, done and suffered by God. For the atonement really is the cost to God of forgiveness. But we cannot predicate penitence of God. We cannot represent Him as experiencing contrition for human sin. On the other hand, if what I see in the dying Saviour is holy judgment of sin and infinite self-abnegating love—that I *can* carry back to God; I can take the central experience of Christ and assert it of God Himself. The cross is then seen as a Divine act.

But it is a pleasure to turn from these objections to the higher task of appreciating some great elements of value in the doctrine we are considering, elements which have won for Campbell and his successors the gratitude of so many. What is the religious motive or motives by which

the theory of vicarious penitence has been prompted, but for which it has found only a doubtful and opaque form of expression? What have we to learn from it?

First, we are shown how the rendering of atonement was a great inward experience of Jesus. It was for Him an infinite mental anguish to come so near to sin as He was brought by His Divine love for the sinful. Where perfect holiness and perfect love meet in such a world as this there is inevitably an unspeakably painful crucifixion of the inmost being. It was not merely that He felt sin's concentrated malice and passion as directed against Himself, as the waves of hate broke against His cross; it was that He was aware, as men could not be, of the pain they were causing God. To realise the evil of sin, with a mind so clear and true, must be agony. The pressure on Jesus' spirit was such as at last to rob Him of life itself. Something of all this was perhaps concealed, or at least obscured, by the older thought of Christ as executing an office, even though it were the office of a Redeemer; and the traditional maxim that God cannot suffer made it none the easier to perceive that the pain of Jesus over sin is a transcript of the Father's heart. But Campbell opened a window into larger truth, and there are phrases scattered over his pages which still awaken the old thrill of discovery. As thus: "The sufferer suffers just through seeing sin and sinners with God's eyes and feeling in reference to them with God's heart"; "sufferings which are themselves the expression of the Divine mind regarding our sins"; "the living manifestation of perfect sympathy in the Father's condemnation of sin"; "the sorrows of holy love endured in realising our sin and misery." Our sins, in short, bowed Him down as they never can bow us down. Christ did not make the Atonement, as it were in the midst of doing other things, nor was it something that happened to Him; it was His very being,

to be wrought out by living through it and dying in the discharge of the vocation. And that inward experience reveals the Father. What Christ is in history, God is for ever.

Again, we are led to reflect how deep into oneness with men Christ was carried by the sense of sympathy. It is true that sympathy may be thought of in a shallow or sentimental way, with no touch of moral passion. But so may the Fatherhood of God. Neither idea is convincing except as we seize it at its highest point. And sympathy, when taken so, is a genuine key to the experience of Jesus, nor has any one ever put the best meaning of the word so well as Edwards in "what," says Bushnell, "I look upon as the finest paragraph in all his works." "A very strong and lively love and pity toward the miserable," he writes, "tends to make their case ours; as in other respects, so in this in particular, as it doth in our idea place us in their stead, under their misery, as it were feeling it for them, actually suffering it in their stead by strong sympathy." Such love enabled Christ, with an intensity beyond our thought, to feel shame for the dark wrong-doing of the world, and to take all our responsibilities as His own.[1] We

[1] Those who reject the idea of vicarious penitence often say such things of Jesus as the above, namely, that "He took all our responsibilities as our own." Why, it may be asked, should they in that case decline to say that He who felt "responsible" for sinners also repented in their name? Now, when we look into this point, we find a manifest ambiguity in the word "responsible." It looks forward as well as backward, and care must be exercised not to confuse the two. Jesus unquestionably felt "responsible" for the future of His brethren and therefore for dealing in holy love with the situation in which they lay. As Dr. Henry Coffin well puts it: "Jesus felt implicated in all that was not as it should be among the children of men, and cleared Himself from complicity in it by setting Himself resolutely to change it" (*Some Religious Convictions*, p. 145). That is a consciousness of responsibility which in dealing with the present looks forward; our Lord felt bound to save those who could not save themselves. But we must not identify this with a feeling of responsibility for the past, as though Jesus felt chargeable with human failure. He had not personally added to the world's evil, and nothing is gained by resorting to phraseology which naturally suggests that He had.

may and do refuse to call this penitence, because the name is a misleading one; but it is in any case a dread reality which enabled Him to make in our name a worthy acknowledgment both of our sin and of the holiness of God. Once we take this point of view, there is not a Pauline phrase about Christ in our place that sounds too strong.

And this reminds us, further, that vicarious penitence, however unsatisfactory as it stands, is suggestive of the truth that at the heart of our Lord's atonement is the perfect acknowledgment made by Him of the righteous judgment of God as embodied in His pain. The passion, in other words, was not accepted in mere dumb resignation; as expressive of the Father's holy mind it was echoed and ratified in Jesus' soul. He Himself entered, unreservedly, into the reaction of righteousness against sin, and, in the name of the sinful with whom He numbered Himself, rendered up to God a full and glorifying response to His condemnation, confessing its necessity and rightness. For Him the Cross was necessary, not merely that the human heart should be affected by the sight of loving sacrifice, but for deeper reasons based in the nature of the Father—because holy love *must* express itself so, because the last step love can take in condemning sin and resisting it is to bear its malignant assault to the very end.

Where Campbell then appears to have left his argument unfinished is at this point, that he has not shown why our Lord's acknowledgment of the Divine holiness took the form of, or clothed itself in, such a death of agony. Why was a verbal acknowledgment not enough? We may suggest the answer that Jesus' response to the Father's condemnation could not remain a mere feeling in His mind; like every sacrificial acknowledgment of the higher will it must clothe itself in an experience of the whole personality—body not less than soul. Part of God's mind about sin is that suffer-

ing is linked to moral evil, and from that region of human experience He who so completely identified Himself with us could not stand aside. He entered into it, not in order that as guilty He might be punished, but that in His dying experience it might be once for all shown how dire are the consequences of transgression. And this could not be without death of which pain and horror, even to the point of felt desertion, are a constitutive part.

Finally, by the conception of vicarious repentance, with all its inadequacy, it is taught that in order to be saved we must be united with Christ in His attitude to sin. It is when we submit in Him to the Father's condemnation of our guilt that we become right with God. When penitence brings a man to peace, it is because in his repentance he has part in the infinite pain of Christ. The idea of a penitence which Christ shares with us is a mistaken way of suggesting rather that homage to righteousness manifested in judgment which we must share with Him. This surely marks a substantial advance upon the notion of vicarious punishment, which seems fated to convey the false impression that Christ so took our place that we are exempted thereby from everything but the enjoyment of gifts won for us. Campbell reminds us that the sacrifice, the self-submission of Jesus in death, was not one that made ours superfluous; it was one that made ours possible. There was a spirit in it which must become our spirit if we are to be the sons of God.

H. R. Mackintosh.

THE NEW TESTAMENT METAPHOR OF THE MESSIANIC BRIDAL.

Most careful readers of the Synoptic Gospels have probably felt a certain surprise when, in answer to the question put to Him concerning fasting, Jesus replies : " Surely the sons of the bride-chamber cannot fast as long as the bridegroom is with them " (Mark ii. 19 and parallels). It is not the content of the saying which appears strange, but the terms in which it is expressed.

It is no adequate explanation of Jesus' language to refer to the common Old Testament metaphor of God as the Husband of Israel (e.g., Hosea ii. 7, 16 ; Jer. iii. 14 ; xxxi. 32 ; Isa. liv. 5–7), as so many commentators do, and to say, with Dr. Swete (on Mark ii. 19), " The Lord identifies Himself with the Bridegroom of Old Testament prophecy, i.e., God in His covenant relation to Israel." As a matter of fact, God is not represented in the Old Testament as the Bridegroom of Israel, although in one passage (Isa. lxii. 6) His joy over His people is compared to that of the bridegroom over the bride. God's relation to Israel is invariably described as that of a Husband who has long since taken her to wife, and in spite of her grievous lapses from fidelity, has not utterly repudiated her. Nor is it sufficient to assume, as, e.g., Zahn does, that the language of Mark ii. 19 presupposes the saying ascribed to John the Baptist in John iii. 29 : " He that has the bride is the bridegroom, but the friend of the bridegroom who stands and listens to him rejoices greatly because of the bridegroom's voice. This joy of mine, therefore, has been fulfilled." The relationship must surely be reversed. The employment of the metaphor in the Fourth Gospel bears testimony to a usage which has become acclimatised in the Church.

To a similar atmosphere belongs the parable of the Wedding-feast in Matthew xxii. 1–14. It is possible, as Mr. MacNeile suggests in his recently published commentary, that Luke has preserved the more original form in xiv. 16–24; "Matthew has changed 'a certain man' into 'a certain king,' 'a great supper' into 'a wedding feast for his son.'" Only, it is worth noting that Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu*, p. 96) adduces evidence from Rabbinic literature to show that the same Aramaic word was used for 'feast' and 'wedding-feast.' So that it is not surprising that while Matthew speaks here of *γάμοι*, Luke simply mentions *δεῖπνον μέγα*. In any case the imagery of the parable indicates that by the time the Gospel of Matthew was compiled the consummation of the Kingdom of God was portrayed as a *wedding*-feast.

We know that the bliss of the Messianic Age was frequently depicted in Judaism as a festal meal. Already, in the Old Testament, the prophet predicts that "in this mountain shall the Lord of hosts make unto all peoples a feast of fat things" (Isa. xxv. 6). The idea appears in 2 Enoch xlii. 5, which describes the rejoicing of those who enter Paradise "as a man calls those whom he loves to feast with him; and they having come with joy hold converse before the dwelling of that man, with joy awaiting his feast." So also it is said of the righteous in 1 Enoch lxii. 14, that "with that Son of Man will they eat and lie down and rise up for ever and ever." And 4 Ezra ii. 38 speaks of those "that be sealed in the feast of the Lord." In the Rabbinic tradition the idea survives. Dalman (*op. cit.* p. 97) quotes a saying of Schimeon ben Lakisch, that Jacob rejoices above all the patriarchs when Israel's joy arrives, "because he has been invoked to the feast." Probably it would be illegitimate to interpret all these references in a purely materialistic fashion. "Different minds," as Mr. MacNeile aptly says (on Matt. viii. 11), "would treat the symbol with varying

degrees of material literalism or of spiritual understanding."

In the New Testament the symbol also finds a place, although not a prominent one. In addition to Luke xiv. 16 ff., already mentioned, the Apocalypse represents an angel as standing and crying: "Hither, assemble yourselves to the great banquet of God" (xix. 17). And one can scarcely doubt that Jesus is using the same imagery when at the Last Supper He points His disciples forward to that day when He shall eat and drink with them in the Kingdom of God (Luke xxii. 15–18 and parallels). The pedantry which would take these words as bald prose is warned off by Jesus' explicit admonition in Mark xii. 24, 25: "Do ye not therefore err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God? For when they rise from the dead they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as angels in heaven."

The interesting question emerges: How did the idea of the Messianic *wedding*-feast become current in the early Church? There is no trace of it in the Old Testament. Nor does it occur in the writings of Judaism. In the Latin version of 4 Ezra vii. 26, which might imply a Messianic bridal and which reads: *apparebit sponsa et apparescens civitas et ostendetur quae nunc subducitur terra*, translated in the Revised Version of the Apocrypha, "the bride shall appear, even the city coming forth, and she shall be seen, that now is withdrawn from the earth," is apparently a misreading of the Greek original (ἡ νῦν μὴ φαινομένη πόλις being taken as ἡ νύμφη φαινομένη πόλις). In the Apocalypse the conception has a firm footing. In xix. 7 the seer hears a voice saying, "Let us rejoice and exult, and let us give glory to him, because the marriage of the Lamb has come and his bride (ἡ γυνή) has made herself ready, and to her it has been given that she should array herself in fine linen bright and pure." Immediately after (verse 9), they are called "blessed" who have been "invited to the marriage-supper

of the Lamb." In xxi. 9, 10, "the holy city, Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God, possessing the glory of God," is described as "the bride, the wife of the Lamb." Finally, the remarkable statement of xxii. 17, "The Spirit and the Bride say, Come," shows that for this writer and (probably) his readers, the term "bride" has become a recognised designation of the Church. These data illuminate the phenomena of John iii. 29. Plainly, for the Apocalypse, the Messianic bridal lies not in the present but in the future.

But this conception, or one akin to it, is found long before the Apocalypse in the writings of Paul. Very significant is his passionate assertion in 2 Corinthians xi. 1: "I have betrothed you to an husband, to present (*παραστῆσαι*) you as a chaste virgin to Christ." The verb used in the first clause, *ἁρμόζεσθαι*, occurs both in classical and Hellenistic writers as a nuptial word. Here Paul represents himself as the *παράνυμφος* or *pronubus*, the person responsible for bringing about a betrothal. He employs *παραστῆσαι* (as regularly, 2 Cor. iv. 4; 1 Cor. i. 8; Col. i. 22) with reference to the Parousia. It is then that the marriage is to be celebrated. So Paul's position falls into line with that of the Apocalypse. He too pictures the consummation of the Kingdom of God as the bridal union of the Christian community with the triumphant Messiah. In this passage, according to his constant usage, he takes the society of believers at Corinth as representative of the Church as a whole.

An elaboration of the idea appears in Ephesians, a letter which at so many points reveals the results of sustained reflexion. In v. 25–32 several of his utterances are full of suggestion for the present discussion. In his well-known exhortation to husbands to love their wives as Christ loved the Church, he declares first of all that Christ gave Himself for the Church that He might sanctify her and present

(*παραστήσῃ*) her to Himself "arrayed in glory, having no spot or wrinkle or any such thing" (verses 25–27). The passage quoted above elucidates this statement. Paul again has in view the marriage of the chaste bride to her heavenly bridegroom, the Messiah. But here it is not the apostle who presents the bride to the bridegroom at the Parousia. By a bold paradox, it is Christ Himself. The remaining part of his injunction is based on Genesis ii. 24: "A man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two shall be one flesh." As might be expected in such a context, Paul introduces his great metaphor of the Church as the Body of Christ. He does not, however, work it out. The bridal imagery occupies the foreground of his thought. For he sums up by saying (verse 32): "This is a profound symbol (*τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν*), I mean, as regards Christ and the Church" (Moffatt's transl.). In itself, the sentence might imply that he was thinking, not of the Messianic marriage, but of the already constituted union between Christ and the Christian community. And no doubt, as in the case of such great conceptions of his as justification, sanctification, etc., he really anticipates, discerning the end in the beginning. But the earlier section of the passage, discussed above, shows how his utterance here perfectly coincides with that of 2 Corinthians xi. 1.

An interesting corroboration of our exegesis of Paul's standpoint is afforded by a remarkable paragraph in the *Didachê*, xi. 11: "Every prophet, attested and genuine, who acts according to the earthly mystery of the Church (*μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας*), and yet does not teach others to do all that he himself does, must not be criticised among you." In his note on this passage Harnack shows that the phrase of which we have given the Greek equivalent is based on Ephesians v. 32. The adjective *κοσμικόν* emphasises

the *existing* relation of the Church to Christ on earth as contrasted with the perfected relation in heaven. What this earthly relation means has been disclosed in the Ephesians-passage. She is the bride of Christ, who as a chaste virgin awaits her glorious espousals. Now in the early Church it became a common doctrine with ascetics that the ordinary marriage relationship defiled the bride of Christ. So the prophets who "act according to the earthly mystery of the Church," without compelling others to follow them, are those who abstain from marriage in order to keep the bride of Christ pure for her Messianic Bridegroom. Thus Origen, in his third Homily on Genesis (Opp. II. p. 69, qu. by Harnack), declares: "The Church of Christ, invigorated by the power of him who was crucified on her behalf, not only refrains from unlawful and scandalous unions, but also from those that are permitted; as a virgin who is the bride of Christ she blossoms with chaste and modest virgins." Here again may be discovered a harmony with 2 Corinthians xi. 1, although Paul does not go the length of drawing the same conclusions.

We have noted that the seer of the Apocalypse describes the Jerusalem which descends from above as the "bride" of the Lamb. Now Paul, in his allegory of Hagar and Sarah as representing the Old and the New Covenants (Gal. iv. 22–31), compares Hagar, the symbol of the Old Covenant, who is a slave-girl, with the earthly Jerusalem which remains in bondage, whereas Sarah, the symbol of the New Covenant, who is a free woman, corresponds to "the heavenly Jerusalem," also a "free woman," and the "mother" of believers. His language suggests that already the perfected Messianic community had been symbolised as a woman. It meant, therefore, only a single step to represent her as the bride of the Messiah. The germ of a conception in Judaism, similar to that of Paul, appears in 4 Ezra. There (ix. 38–

x. 24) the seer has a vision of a disconsolate woman, who suddenly undergoes a transformation into glory (x. 25), and immediately after gives place to "a city builded" (x. 27). This city is identified with Zion (x. 44), and is described as the heavenly pattern of the earthly Jerusalem (x. 49). Probably these pictures point back to a definite strain in apocalyptic tradition, which may be discerned, as we have seen, in the Christian Apocalypse.

Perhaps the single step of which we spoke above ought to be traced to Jesus' designation of Himself as "the Bridegroom." For the saying from which our discussion started (Mark ii. 19) does not stand in complete isolation among His words. The parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Matt. xxv. 1–13) seems to presuppose the same metaphor. It is true that the parable is reported only by Matthew, but that holds good of many of Jesus' most markedly eschatological utterances. Here the central idea is preparedness for the Parousia, and it is noteworthy that the crisis should be described as the arrival of the Bridegroom for his wedding (ἦλθεν ὁ νύμφιος, καὶ αἱ ἕτοιμοι εἰσῆλθον μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς γάμους). Possibly the significance of the metaphor is enhanced if, in verse 1, after the words, εἰς ὑπάντησιν τοῦ νυμφίου, we read with such important authorities as D X* 1* 124* 209* 262*, all the Latin versions and the Sinaitic Syriac, καὶ τῆς νύμφης (see Prof. Souter, EXPOSITOR, November 1915, p. 431). This suggests the completed picture.

A review of all the facts would indicate that in attempting to explain the metaphor of the Messianic Bridal in the New Testament, we have to choose between two alternatives. It must either be referred to Jesus Himself, in which case various significant inferences will be suggested. Or else it must be regarded as a development of apocalyptic imagery in the early Church which has been read back into the words of Jesus. We assume, of course, with the great majority

of interpreters that the references to the "Bridegroom" in the Gospels have a distinctly Messianic implication. For it is impossible to agree with Mr. MacNeile that in Matthew ix. 15 (and parallels) "there is no reference to the Messianic feast of the future age," and that "the Bridegroom is Jesus in His human companionship with His disciples," or to follow him in describing the Baptist as "the 'bridegroom' for his friends." Certainly we would lay no stress here upon the "feast," but the mention of "the bridegroom" and of "the wedding-guests" is surely far more than a vague symbol of gladness. It presupposes a wedding, like all similar allusions in the New Testament, and the analogy of the Old Testament picture of God as Husband of the community of Israel makes us sure of the direction in which we shall find the interpretation of the figure. Our expectation is more than confirmed by the usage of Paul, the Apocalypse, and the Fourth Gospel.

Which, then, of the above solutions is the more probable? In the sphere of exegesis as well as in that of textual criticism the principle that the harder alternative ought to have the preference is constantly found to be valid. Now in the case before us it is probably easier to suggest that, although we have no documentary evidence, we must presuppose in apocalyptic tradition the idea that the purified community of the Messianic Age was the "bride" of the Messiah, and that the consummation of that epoch was the celebration of their marriage. This conception would be taken over, like so many others of a similar character, by the Christian Church. It appears full-blown in the Apocalypse, and Paul reveals that it was familiar to him also. The hints of it in Matthew xxii. and xxv. might simply be taken to indicate that the Gospel which was peculiarly eschatological and specially Jewish in its colouring had naturally assimilated such congenial imagery. The instance which we are dis-

cussing might be regarded as an unusually early example of apocalyptic influence in shaping the Synoptic tradition.

We prefer, however, to adopt what may appear to be, in some ways, the harder alternative. The passage is one of those in which Matthew and Luke follow Mark without any alteration worth mentioning. So that it has every appearance on literary grounds of belonging to the earliest stratum of the Synoptic material. But even apart from that, its form in all three evangelists speaks for its authenticity. Had it been the result of recasting a genuine saying under the pressure of a developing eschatology, it seems inconceivable that it should have been left in this compressed and almost enigmatic guise. For the tendency in reshaping earlier material is to simplify and to amplify it as far as possible. Instances occur every here and there, when we compare the parallel reports in the Synoptics. Thus, e.g., the difficult paradox of Mark iv. 11, 12 : " To those outside all things are presented in parables in order that seeing they may see and not perceive, etc.," is found in Matthew (xiii. 13 f.) in the form : " For this reason I speak to them in parables, because seeing they refuse to see, etc.," and with the explanatory amplification : " Whosoever hath, to him shall be given, etc." That is certainly an attempt to modify the difficulty of the original.

Jesus was at home in the imagery both of Old Testament and Jewish literature. He was familiar with the prophetic idea of Israel " forsaken " and Israel " married " (Isa. lxii. 5). He must have been acquainted with the apocalyptic metaphor of Zion, the holy city, as a woman. Hence He comes to utter His allegorical saying in the light of His own Messianic consciousness. It is intended, like the majority of His Messianic references, not to disclose a clear situation, but to provoke reflexion in spiritually sensitive minds. It must be grouped with such phrases as " Son of Man," and with such

sayings as Mark xii. 35ff. : "How say the scribes that the Messiah is Son of David . . . David himself calls him Lord, whence then is he his son" ; Matthew xi. 14 : "If you choose to receive it, he [the Baptist] is Elijah who was destined [as precursor of the Messiah] to come" ; Matthew xii. 28, and others.

Apart from its place in one of His profoundest utterances on the meaning of religion, Jesus' use of this metaphor of the "Bridegroom" suggests the place He has deliberately assumed in the historical evolution of the Divine purpose. In Him the community in which God's will shall be accomplished finds its crowning joy. Already it looks forward to the day of espousals, when the "bride" and "the Bridegroom" shall be united. It is worth observing that the picture does justice to the two separate aspects of Jesus' conception of the Kingdom of God, warning against a one-sided eschatological, as also against a one-sided ethical, interpretation. The Bridegroom is here. A festal atmosphere surrounds Him. The "wedding-guests" (*υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος*) can already appreciate the joy of the new epoch. Their joy indeed must suffer a temporary eclipse. The Bridegroom shall be taken away. But not for ever. The wedding must needs be celebrated. With that they shall enter upon a bliss which no man can take away from them.

H. A. A. Kennedy.

REDEMPTION, SALVATION AND ATONEMENT IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

I. Redemption.

The doctrines of "Redemption" and "Salvation" are not to be confounded either with one another, or with the doctrine of "Atonement." Some terms, indeed, are common to all three, but the conceptions are wide apart. The object therefore of the present series of articles is to attempt to clear up the confusion which is frequently seen to exist on these related but distinct subjects by a systematic presentation and co-ordination of the various principal texts which set forth their respective significations, and by tracing the ideas in term and phrase from the Old Testament to the New,—the only process which can throw sufficient light on the otherwise obscure phraseology of the latter's teaching. The isolated texts, however necessarily enforced from the pulpit, can only produce a very inadequate, and frequently a very misleading, impression of the real content and correlation of the several doctrines. Hence the importance of considering, as is designed, the entire body of the textual evidence in as concise and clear a form as is possible under the limits here necessarily imposed upon the investigation. The conclusion to be drawn will be sufficiently evidenced by the connexion of the several statements of the inspired writers.

The first mention of "redemption" and a "redeemer" is found in reference to a particular individual experience, viz., that of the patriarch Jacob, "The angel my *redeemer* (H. *gōel;* Gr. *ῥυόμενος, deliverer*) from all evil" (Gen. xlviii. 16; cf. 1 Thess. i. 10, of Christ). But subsequent applications are wide and general, covering the various cases of *redeeming* or (as the term implies) *buying back* things or persons

that have been sold: as (*a*) redemption of *lands and goods:* (*b*) redemption of *bondservants and captives:* (*c*) redemption of *life:* (*d*) especially the two great *national redemptions*, viz., that from *bondage in Egypt* and that from *captivity in Babylon*. Upon this general usage the metaphorical applications of both Old Testament and New Testament are based. The underlying idea is apparent in the signification of the two Hebrew verbal stems employed, viz., (*a*) *gāal*, the more significant and most frequent (c. 100), to *buy back* at a price, and so *redeem, ransom;* (*b*) *padah* (c. 60), to *loose* by cutting a bond, and so *liberate, set free*. In all cases a *redemption-price* is expressed or implied. The LXX Greek renderings, which it is necessary to note as handed on and reproduced in the New Test. are, (*a*) for *gāal*, λυτροῦσθαι, *redeem, ransom* (c. 40), and ῥύεσθαι, *deliver* (c. 12); (*b*) for *padah*, λυτροῦσθαι (c. 40), and ῥύεσθαι (c. 6); and for cognate nouns, λύτρωσις *redemption*, λυτρωτής *redeemer*, λύτρον *redemption-price, ransom*.[1] Other related terms handed on and reproduced are πιπηάσκειν *sell*, δουλεία *bondage*, δοῦλος *bond-servant*, ἐλεύθερος *free*, περιποιεῖσθαι *acquire for one's own private property* or *possession*, περιποίησις *acquisition, private property* (H. *s'gullah;* Lat. *peculium*).[2]

The *loci classici* defining and regulating the various particular "redemptions" are Leviticus xxv. 8–55, xxvii. 1–34,

[1] For λύτρον as the rendering of H. *kōpher* in the Priestly Ritual of ATONEMENT, see article on ATONEMENT.

[2] The H. *s'gullah* (from stem *sagah, acquire*) denotes *private property:* it occurs eight times, and is chiefly used of *Israel as the private property of Jehovah*, his "peculiar people" (Exod. xix. 5; Ps. cxxxv, 4), and "peculiar treasure" (Deut. xiv. 2; xxvi. 18); the Authorised Version's rendering "peculiar" being taken from the Latin *peculium*, which (like H. *s'gullah*) signifies *private property* however acquired. The usual Gr. renderings are περιούσιος *of the nature of private property* (cf. Tit. ii. 14, cited from Exod. xix. 5), and περιουσιασμός *private property, wealth*. Once, however, the H. term is rendered by the Gr. περιποίησις (Mal. iii 17, A.V. *my jewels*; R.V. *mine own possession:* cf. I Pet. ii. 9, cited from Exod. xix. 5; also Eph. i. 14; Heb. x. 39).

and Deuteronomy xv. 1–18: (*a*) redemption of *lands and goods* (Lev. xxv. 8–34, of the jubilee; xxvii. 9–34: cf. Ruth iv. 3–10, redemption of Ruth's land by Boaz); (*b*) redemption of *bond-servants* and *captives* (Lev. xxv. 10, 39–55; Deut. xv. 12–15; Jer. xxxiv. 12–16); (*c*) redemption of *life*, obligatory in the cases of firstborn children (Exod. xiii. 11–15; Num. iii. 46–51), and of adults at every census (Exod. xxx. 12–16); allowable in the case of firstlings of an ass (Exod. xiii. 13), also in certain cases of homicide (Exod. xxi. 30; Prov. xiii. 8; cf. Matt. xvi. 26); but strictly forbidden in the case of murderers and of persons and things "devoted" by anathema to utter destruction (Lev. xxvii. 28, 29; Num. xxxv. 30–33; cf. Exod. xxii. 20; Deut. vii. 26; xiii. 12–17; xx. 16–18).[1] From this *life-redemption by man* transition is easy, literally and metaphorically, to *divine life-redemption*, sc. from death and Sheol:—"In famine the Almighty shall *ransom* (H. *padah*) thee from *death*, and in war from the *hand of the sword*" (Job v. 20); "None can *ransom* (H. *padah*) his brother by riches, but God will *ransom* (H. *padah*) my *life* (H. *nephesh*, Gr. ψυχή) from the *hand of Sheol*" (Ps. xlix. 7–9); "I will *ransom* (H. *padah*) them from the *hand of Sheol*, I will *redeem* (H. *gāal*) them from *death: O death, O Sheol*, where, etc." (Hos. xiii. 14, cited at 1 Cor. xv. 55); and the memorable passage from Job inserted in the Church of England Burial Service, "I know that my *Redeemer* (H. *gōel*, A.V. marg. *Avenger* liveth, etc." (Job xix. 25–27).[2]

[1] For "devoted thing" (H. *cherem*, Gr. ἀνάθεμα *anathema*, A.V. *curse*, *utter destruction*) see the cases of Jericho, Ai, Amalek (Josh. vi. 17, 1; viii. 26; 1 Sam. xv. 2, 3), and the case of Achan (Josh. vii. 1–26).

[2] The term GŌEL (from the stem *gāal*, *buy back*) is, as cited above, first used of the *redeeming angel* in Gen. xlviii. 16; but thereafter, as the title of JEHOVAH as *author of the national redemption*, it occurs no less than nineteen times, of which no less than thirteen are found in the deutero- and trito-Isaiah of the Exile (Isa. xli. lxvi.). The term is also used for the "Avenger of blood" (see the *locus classicus in* Num. xxxv. 9–28); the

But in the Old Testament the "redemptions" *par excellence* are the aforesaid two great *national redemptions* of Israel by Jehovah, the first and principal from the *bondage in Egypt*, the one which *gave to Jehovah his title of* "REDEEMER" (H. *gōel*), and the second from the *captivity in Babylon*.

The *locus classicus* is that which announces the promise of the first "redemption," *sc.* "I am Jehovah, and I will *rid you out of the bondage* of the Egyptians, and I will *redeem* (H. *gāal*) you with a stretched out arm" (Exod. vi. 6). This "redemption" by the "mighty hand and stretched out arm" of Jehovah is ever and again impressed upon the people with emphasis, viz.:

(*a*) As the BEGINNING OF THEIR NATIONAL HISTORY, and

(*b*) As the BASIS OF THEIR MORAL AND RELIGIOUS DUTIES;

both of which points must be carefully kept in view; "I am Jehovah thy God, which *brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage*"—so runs the prelude to the Ten Commandments (Exod. xx. 2; Deut. v. 6)—"and thou shalt remember that thou wast a *bond-servant* in the land of Egypt, and that Jehovah thy God *brought thee out thence* with a mighty hand and stretched out arm: *therefore* Jehovah thy God *commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day*, and to *keep all the statutes and commandments*" (Deut. v. 15; vii. 7–11; so also vi. 20–25; xv. 15; xvi. 12; xxiv. 18). In the Psalms this "redemption" is commemorated with exultant gratitude: "O give thanks unto Jehovah, who *brought out Israel from Egypt* with a mighty hand and stretched out arm, for his mercy endureth for ever" (Ps. cxxxvi. 1, 10-12; cf. lxxvii. 15; lxxviii. 35; cxi. 9); and its remem-

right of "avenger," no less than the right of "redeemer," resting with the *near kinsman* (Gr. *ἀγχιστεύων*), to whom accordingly the same term is also applied (Lev. xxv. 25, 26; Ruth iii. 12; iv. 4–6; Job xix. 25 *supra*, where all three applications may meet.

brance fills the prophets of the exile with inspiration of confident hope, "Fear not, O Israel, saith Jehovah, I *redeemed* (H. *gāal*) thee: I *gave Egypt for thy ransom*" (Isa. xliii. 1–4); "In all their affliction he, Jehovah, was afflicted; in his love and pity he *redeemed* (H. *gāal*) them" (Isa. lxiii. 9); "Awake, O *arm of Jehovah*; art thou not it which made the depths of the sea a way for the *redeemed* (H. *gāal*) to pass over?" And, "The *ransomed* (H. *padah*) of Jehovah *shall return* and *come to Zion*, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away" (Isa. xxxv. 10; li. 9–11; exilic). The past redemption is guarantee for the future: "Thou shalt go to Babylon, but there Jehovah shall *redeem* (H. *gāal*) thee from the hand of thine enemies" (Mic. iv. 10); "Ye *sold* yourselves for naught, and ye *shall be redeemed* (H. *gāal*) without money" (isa. lii. 3, 4; lxii. 12; lxiii. 4); "The REDEEMER (H. *gōel*) will come to Zion" (Isa. lix. 20). Thus were the captive Exiles ever sustained by faith in a new deliverance by the GŌEL of the days of old, "JEHOVAH, THE REDEEMER, the Holy One of Israel" (Isa. xli. 14).

Such were the great Old Testament "redemptions." The New Testament occupies an entirely different standpoint. It contains indeed an incidental reference to the old "redemption" from Egypt, and to Moses as the "redeemer" (Acts vii. 33–36); and another to *life-redemption* in time of persecution (Heb. xi. 35, "tortured, not accepting *redemption*," ἀπολύτρωσις: A.V. and R.V. inadequately, *deliverance*): but these are only casual allusions. The New Testament's own theme of "redemption" passes at once to a higher and far wider plane, viz., from a *bodily* to a *spiritual* redemption, and from a *national* to a *universal* one. Nevertheless the New Testament early announcements and expectations of coming "redemption" were at the first, and until after Pentecost, inevitably understood and held, as also in the case of "salvation" (see p. 119), of a

POLITICAL DELIVERANCE FROM THE POWER OF ROME. Thus in the BENEDICTUS, "Blessed be JEHOVAH THE GOD OF ISRAEL, for he hath visited and wrought *redemption* (λύτρωσις) *for his people*" (Luke i. 68; cf. Ps. cxi. 9); also in various other passages of St. Luke in GOSPEL and ACTS: "Anna spake of the child Jesus to all them that were expecting *redemption* (λύτρωσις) in JERUSALEM" (ii. 38, cf. 25); "Jesus was nigh to Jerusalem, and they thought that the KINGDOM OF GOD was about to appear immediately" (xix. 11); "When ye see these things, then lift up your heads, for your *redemption* (ἀπολύτρωσις) draweth nigh" (xxi. 20–28). And likewise after the Resurrection, "We were hoping it was he, this Jesus of Nazareth whom they crucified, who was about to *redeem* (λυτροῦσθαι) ISRAEL" (xxiv. 19–21); "Lord, wilt thou in this interval (χρόνος, of the 'not many days hence') RESTORE AGAIN THE KINGDOM TO ISRAEL?" (Acts i. 5, 6). After Pentecost, however, the real nature of the "redemption" to be accomplished became manifested, yet through terms borrowed from the Old Testament *bodily and national redemptions*, and *only intelligible through them*. All the old terms reappear, and where new ones are introduced they have a similar signification to the old. The old ones are those already mentioned, λυτροῦσθαι *redeem*, ῥύεσθαι deliver, λύτρον *redemption-price*,[1] and the rest; new ones are ἀγοράζειν *buy* as in a market, ἐξαγοράζειν *buy off*, ἀπαλλάσσειν *release*, ἀπολύτρωσις *redemption*, ἀντίλυτρον *ransom*, emphasising *exchange* (ἀντί), ἐλευθεροῦν) *set free*. The underlying conceptions are the same as before, the applications differ:—

[1] An excellent illustration of the literary use of the terms ἀπολύτρωσις and λύτρον is seen in the case of the emancipation of 120,000 Jewish slaves in Egypt by Ptolemy Philadelphus (c. 250 B.C.); "The cost of the *redemption* (ἀπολύτρωσις) amounted to more than 400 talents: I paid," says Ptolemy, "the *redemption-prices* (λύτρα) to their *masters* δεσπόταις, cf. 2 Pet. ii. 1; Jude 4) out of my own revenues" (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 2).

(1) As to the BONDAGE: as above noted, it is no longer the BODILY, but a SPIRITUAL bondage; and no longer the NATIONAL, but a UNIVERSAL bondage, a bondage of all races, even of all creation (Rom. viii. 21); and, as St. Paul emphatically holds, the bondage of the LAW OF SIN AND DEATH AND CORRUPTION (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 53, 54). This *bondage* is first declared in the words of Christ to the Jews, who denied having ever been IN BONDAGE: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall SET YOU FREE; whosoever COMMITTETH SIN is the *bond-servant* (*δοῦλος slave*) *of sin*: if the Son SET YOU FREE ye shall be FREE indeed" (John viii. 32–36; cf. i. 17, antithesis of *law* and *truth*). It is asserted by St. Paul in terms almost echoing the words of Christ: "His BOND-SERVANTS ye are whom ye obey, whether of SIN, etc.; ye were the BOND-SERVANTS OF SIN, but have been SET FREE FROM SIN to serve God, etc." (Rom. vi. 16–23; cf. vii. 14, "*sold under sin*"); "The law of the spirit of life in Christ SET US FREE from the LAW OF SIN AND DEATH" (id. viii. 2). In Galatians, in respect of the Gentiles, the bondage is formally different, viz., bondage to NATURE-WORSHIP, but substantially, as a SPIRITUAL BONDAGE, the same: "We were HELD IN BONDAGE under the elements of the world: but God sent forth His Son to BUY OFF (*ἐξαγοράζειν*, A.V. *redeem*) them that were under law, etc., so that thou art no longer a BOND-SERVANT. . . . Ye were in BONDAGE to them that are no gods, ye desire to be in BONDAGE again (Gal. iv. 3–11; cf. iii. 14, 29, and Rom. vii. 7–13); "With FREEDOM Christ SET US FREE: stand firm, therefore, and be not again held in a yoke of *bondage*" (Gal. v. 1).[1]

(2) As to the REDEMPTION: answering to the nature

[1] The Gr. text of the opening of this verse is somewhat uncertain, and is connected by the Vulgate with the last verse of ch. iv. The special uncertainty relates to the genuineness or otherwise of the pronoun *ᾗ*, *wherewith*. I am not sure that it ought not to be retained as by the Vulgate and Syriac.

of the *bondage*, it is a SPIRITUAL and UNIVERSAL *redemption*; but none the less, like the BODILY REDEMPTION, it involves a REDEMPTION-PRICE; and none the less, like the NATIONAL REDEMPTION, it is (*a*) the BEGINNING OF A HISTORY—not indeed of a particular nation but of a universal church—and (*b*) also, like its predecessor, the BASIS OF ALL MORAL AND RELIGIOUS DUTY; "The Church of the Lord which he ACQUIRED-FOR-A-POSSESSION (*περιποιεῖσθαι*) through HIS OWN BLOOD (Acts xx. 28; see below, and cf. Eph. i. 14, "*redemption*, *ἀπολύτρωσις*, of the *acquired-possession* *περιποίησις*"); "Ye are not your own; for ye were BOUGHT (*ἀγοραζειν*) AT A PRICE; THEREFORE glorify GOD in your body" (1 Cor. vi. 19, 20; cf. 2 Pet. ii. 1, "false teachers denying the MASTER, *δεσπότης*—A.V. inadequately, LORD: see p. 112, note 1—who BOUGHT them"); "Having been SET FREE FROM SIN, ye were made BOND-SERVANTS TO RIGHTEOUSNESS FOR HOLINESS" (Rom. vi. 18–22); "Christ DIED FOR US ALL, that they which live should NO LONGER LIVE UNTO THEMSELVES, but UNTO HIM WHO DIED FOR THEM" (2 Cor. v. 15); "Jesus Christ, who GAVE HIMSELF FOR US that he might REDEEM (*λυτροῦσθαι*) us FROM ALL INIQUITY, and purify unto himself a 'peculiar people,' ZEALOUS OF GOOD WORKS" (Tit. ii. 13, 14, after Exod. xix. 5; see p. 108, n. 2).

(3) As to the REDEMPTION-PRICE and the REDEEMER, two subjects usually connected together, and not infrequently identified. They have already been unavoidably anticipated to some extent in the preceding, but, even at the expense of some repetition, require fuller consideration. Primarily, the "Redeemer" is the same Redeemer as in the Old Testament, "JEHOVAH, the God of Israel." This is clearly stated in the passage already quoted from the BENEDICTUS, "Blessed be JEHOVAH THE GOD OF ISRAEL, for he hath visited and WROUGHT REDEMPTION FOR HIS

PEOPLE, and hath raised up, etc." (Luke i. 68–75). But secondarily and regularly, the "Redeemer" is the SON OF GOD, the LORD JESUS CHRIST, sent by the Father as his agent for the purpose of the redemption: "God sent forth HIS SON to BUY OFF (*ἐξαγοράζειν*) them that were under law" (Gal. iv. 4, 5); "Jesus, the SON OF GOD, our *deliverer* (*ῥυόμενος*, as H. *gōel* in Gen. xlviii. 16) from the WRATH to come" (1 Thess. i. 10; cf. John iii. 17; Rom. v. 9; 1 John iv. 10, 11). And repeatedly in connexion with the REDEMPTION-PRICE (cf. 1 Cor. vi. 20, *supra*, "*bought at a price*"), the "price" being plainly specified as the REDEEMER CHRIST HIMSELF, His own PHYSICAL LIFE (*ψυχή*), His DEATH, His BLOOD (cf. Lev. xvii. 11, "the *life*, *ψυχή*, is in the *blood*"). These varying expressions of the same fact all appear frequently:—(*a*) Christ's PHYSICAL LIFE (*ψυχή*), "The Son of Man came to give his LIFE (*ψυχή*) a REDEMPTION-PRICE (*λύτρον*)[1] for many" (Matt. xx. 28); "Christ Jesus, who gave HIMSELF a REDEMPTION-PRICE (*ἀντί-λυτρον ransom in exchange*, *ἄντι*), for many" (1 Tim. ii. 6); "Jesus Christ, who gave HIMSELF FOR US that he might REDEEM (*λυτροῦσθαι*) us" (Tit. ii. 13, 14 *supra*). (*b*) Christ's DEATH, "Christ DIED for the ungodly, etc." (Rom. v. 6–8); "Christ DIED for our sins" (1 Cor. xv. 3); "Christ DIED for all" (2 Cor. v. 14, 15, *supra*); "Jesus, that he might TASTE DEATH for every man and RELEASE (*ἀπαλλάσσειν*) them that through fear of death were all their lifetime *subject to bondage*" (Heb. ii. 9–15; cf. Gal. iii. 13; iv. 4, 5). (*c*) Christ's BLOOD, "The Church of the Lord which he acquired for his possession THROUGH HIS OWN BLOOD" (Acts xx. 28, *supra*: cf. Heb. ix. 12–14); "Having been justified BY HIS BLOOD we shall be saved from wrath through him" (Rom. v. 9; cf. 1 Thess. i. 10); "The Son of God in whom we have REDEMPTION (*ἀπολύτρωσις*) THROUGH HIS BLOOD"

[1] See p. 109, Note 2.

(Eph. i. 6, 7; Col. i. 13, 14); "Christ THROUGH HIS OWN BLOOD obtained an eternal REDEMPTION (λύτρωσις) for us" (Heb. ix. 12); "Ye were REDEEMED (λυτροῦσθαι), not with silver and gold, but with the precious BLOOD OF CHRIST" (1 Pet. i. 18, 19); "Thou wast slain and didst BUY (ἀγοράζειν) us for God WITH THY BLOOD" (Rev. v. 9; cf. xiv. 3, 4).

Thus the New Testament "redemption" is represented as a *literal redemption*, as literal as the "redemptions" of the Old Testament. The spheres are different, but the actualities are the same, BONDAGE, REDEMPTION, REDEMPTION-PRICE, REDEEMER. Further, like the "redemptions" of the Old Testament, it was effected by a SINGLE ACT, *sc.* the DEATH OF CHRIST UPON THE CROSS. Yet, though a SINGLE ACT in time, and its effect upon the condition of the redeemed immediate—from BONDAGE to FREEDOM—the *complete realisation of its benefits lies in the future*, and will not be experienced till that "DAY OF REDEMPTION" unto which the redeemed "were sealed" (Eph. iv. 30), *sc.* the day of the "REDEMPTION OF THE BODY," the RESURRECTION DAY, for which the redeemed still "wait" (Rom. viii. 23; cf. Phil. iii. 21). Then, and then only, will be manifested to the world the completeness and extent of the "REDEMPTION"; for then, in the glowing language of St. Paul, not humanity only, but "the whole groaning and travailing creation, involuntarily subjected to vanity, SHALL BE REDEEMED FROM THE BONDAGE OF CORRUPTION, and enter into THE FREEDOM OF THE GLORY of the children of God" (Rom. viii. 19–28; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 50–54).

II. SALVATION.

Thus far concerning "Redemption." But both in the Old and New Testament, side by side with the series of terms that have been under consideration, viz., REDEEM,

REDEMPTION, REDEEMER, there appears another series of similar but more frequent and comprehensive terms, viz., SAVE, SALVATION, SAVIOUR, which require independent illustration. While the former series centred in "redemption," the latter series centres in "salvation." Now in the Old Testament there are various instances of particular "salvations" (e.g. Judg. iii. 9, 15; 1 Sam. xiv. 45; 2 Kings xiii. 5; Neh. ix. 27; of the Judges as *saviours*); but they are of inconsiderable importance in comparison with the great NATIONAL SALVATION at the Red Sea from the hosts of Pharaoh, subsequent to the NATIONAL REDEMPTION from Egypt; the "salvation" promised in Moses' exhortation to the people, "Stand still and see the SALVATION of Jehovah: Jehovah himself shall *fight* for you, and ye shall see your *enemies* again no more" (Exod. xiv. 13, 14), and celebrated in the grand national pæan, "Jehovah is my strength and my song, and is become my SALVATION" (Exod. xxv. 2: cf. Ps. cvi. 21, 22; Isa. xvii. 10). This is the "salvation" that *gave to Jehovah his title of* "SAVIOUR" (*c.* 20 times; *e.g.*, Isa. xliii. 3; xlv. 15, 21; Jer. xiv. 8), and *to Israel that of the* "SAVED of Jehovah" (Deut. xxiii. 29); as the "redemption" had given him the title of REDEEMER and to them that of his "redeemed" (Isa. lxii. 12, *supra*). Thenceforward *Jehovah* is to Israel the "God of SALVATION" (Ps. lxxviii. 19; lxxxviii. 1; Mic. vii. 7; Hab. iii. 18; cf. Deut. xxi. 15); "In Jehovah is the SALVATION of Israel" (Jer. iii. 23); and "Beside Jehovah there is no SAVIOUR" (Isa. xliii. 11; Hos. xiii. 4; cf. Acts iv. 12). In succeeding years the very words of the pæan are echoed in the memory of the saints (Ps. cxviii. 14, 15; Isa. xii. 2); and in remembrance of the deliverance they ever find fresh ground for comfort and hope in their afflictions: "O Jehovah, the hope of Israel, the SAVIOUR thereof in time of trouble" (Jer. xiv. 8; Ps. lx. 9, 10; xlvi. 1; Isa. xxxiii. 2). The sorrows of the

Exile might find repeated utterance in sighing and prayer, "Oh that the SALVATION of Israel were come out of Zion!" (Ps. xiv. 7; liii. 6); but even so was there never wanting the full assurance that he who once SAVED in the ancient days could and would SAVE again: "Be not dismayed, O Israel; for I, Jehovah, will SAVE thee from afar, and thy seed from the land of their captivity" (Jer. xxx. 10; cf. xlvi. 27); "Your God will come and SAVE you" (Isa. xxxv. 4); "Tell ye the daughter of Zion, Behold thy SALVATION cometh" (Isa. lxii. 11); cf. Zech. ix. 9; Matt. xxi. 5).

Turning now to the New Testament there is seen there also the same second series of more frequent and comprehensive terms allied to "redemption" that was found in the Old Testament, viz., SAVE (*c.* 100), SALVATION (*c.* 40), SAVIOUR (*c.* 24); but, as in the case of "redemption," not referring to a BODILY AND NATIONAL "salvation," but to a "salvation" which is SPIRITUAL AND UNIVERSAL. Its UNIVERSALITY is revealed in a variety of announcements (Luke ii. 30–32; John iii. 16, 17; iv. 42; xii. 47; Acts xiii. 46, 47; Rom. i. 16; 1 Tim. iv. 10; 1 John iv. 14); and its SPIRITUALITY is seen in its declared objects, as (*a*) salvation of SOULS: "Receiving the end of your faith, SALVATION of your SOULS" (*ψυχή, life, soul*: 1 Pet. i. 9, 10; cf. Luke ix. 56; 1 Cor. v. 5; Jas. i. 24); (*b*) salvation from PRESENT SIN: "He shall save his people from THEIR SINS" (Matt. i. 21; Luke i. 77; Acts. v. 31; Rom. v. 8; 1 Tim. i. 15; 1 Pet. iii. 8); (*c*) salvation from FUTURE WRATH: "Who hath warned you to flee from the WRATH TO COME?" (Matt. iii. 7); "Who delivereth us from the WRATH TO COME" (1 Thess. i. 10; cf. Rom. i. 18; v. 9, 10; Eph. v. 3–6; 1 Pet. iv. 18); "Save us from the WRATH of the Lamb, for the great day of his WRATH is come" (Rev. vi. 16, 17). And inseparably connected with this final salvation is the inheritance and gift of "LIFE ETERNAL" (*ζωὴ αἰώνιος*:

John iii. 15, 16; xii. 25; Acts xiii. 46–48; Rom. ii. 7, 8; vi. 22; Tit, iii. 7; 1 John v. 11).

Yet although in its purposes a SPIRITUAL AND UNIVERSAL "salvation," it was (like the Redemption) inevitably understood at the first, and until after Pentecost, as intended to be a POLITICAL SALVATION OF ISRAEL FROM THE ROMAN DOMINION (Matt. ii. 1–11; xxi. 4–9; Mark xi. 7–10; Luke i. 31–33, 69–75; xix. 11; cf. the citations *re* "Redemption," *supra*, pp. 111, 112). But, whatever was the misunderstanding as to the NATURE of the "salvation," there was never any doubt as to the *authorship*. It is ascribed primarily to GOD as *originator*, and secondarily to CHRIST, the Son of God, as *agent* sent by God to effect His saving purpose; the title of "Saviour" being thus indiscriminately applied to both God and Christ:—

(*a*) to *God* (*c.* 8 times): "My spirit hath rejoiced in GOD MY SAVIOUR" (Luke i. 47); "GOD OUR SAVIOUR, who willeth all men to be SAVED" (1 Tim. ii. 3, 4: cf. 2 Pet. iii. 9); "the living GOD who is the SAVIOUR of all men" (1 Tim. iv. 10).

(*b*) to *Christ* (*sæpe*): so from the first, in the name given by the angel before His birth: "Thou shalt call his name JESUS" (Gr. *Ἰησοῦς*; Heb. JOSHUA, JESHUA, by interp. JEHOVAH SALVATION); in effect, therefore, "Thou shalt call his name JEHOVAH SAVIOUR, for he shall SAVE his people" (Matt. i. 21). And it must be noticed that this explains the remarkable fact that the title of REDEEMER is *never once applied to Christ* in the New Testament; it is always SAVIOUR:—"Unto you is born this day in the city of David a SAVIOUR who is CHRIST" (Luke ii. 11); "Of David's seed has God raised up to Israel a SAVIOUR, even JESUS" (Acts xiii. 26; cf. v. 31); "From whence we wait for a SAVIOUR, even JESUS CHRIST" (Phil. iii. 20; cf. Tit. ii. 13, 14; 2 Pet. i. 11); "The Father sent HIS SON to be the SAVIOUR"

(1 John iv. 14 ; cf. John iii. 16, 17). So, in substance, the "faithful saying" that "Christ Jesus came to SAVE sinners" (1 Tim. i. 15) ; and the *locus classicus* of St. Peter's address to the Sanhedrin, "The NAME OF JESUS CHRIST, in NONE OTHER is there SALVATION ; for there is NO OTHER NAME given among men whereby we must be SAVED" (Acts. iv. 10–12 ; cf. Isa. xliii. 11).

But to return to the NATURE of the New Testament "salvation," and its essential difference from that of the Old Testament, it differs from it in more respects than in being a SPIRITUAL AND UNIVERSAL salvation ; it differs from it also in the following respects :—

(*a*) in regard to its OCCURRENCE : in its not having been effected SUBSEQUENTLY to the "redemption," but COINCIDENTALLY with it, *sc.* by the *same death of Christ* (Rom. v. 6–9 ; 1 Cor. xv. 3 ; 2 Cor. v. 14, 15 ; Heb. ix. 28 ; 1 Pet. iii. 18, etc.).

(*b*) in regard to its CHARACTER : in its not being ABSOLUTE, but CONDITIONAL ; *sc.* conditional on FAITH (Matt. xvi. 16 ; Luke viii. 12 ; Acts. ii. 21 ; xvi. 31 ; Rom. i. 16 ; 2 Thess. ii. 10–12 ; 1 Tim. i. 16) ; on BAPTISM (Mark xvi. 16 ; Acts xxii. 16 ; Eph. v. 26 ; Tit. iii. 5, 6, "through the LAVER OF REGENERATION, etc." ; 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21 : cf. John i. 12, 13 ; iii. 5–8 ; Acts ii. 38–41 ; Rom. vi. 3, 4 ; Heb. x. 22) ; on OBEDIENCE (Rom. ii. 8, 9 ; 2 Thess. i. 8, 9 ; 2 Tim. ii. 25 ; Heb. v. 9) ; on PERSEVERANCE (Matt. x. 22 ; xxiv. 13 ; Rom. ii. 7 ; i. 22 ; 1 Cor. xv. 2 ; Phil. i. 6 ; ii. 12 ; Heb. iii. 14 ; 2 Pet. i. 10, 11).

(*c*) in regard to its RESULT : in its consummation not being IMMEDIATE, but FUTURE, *sc.* in the "day of Christ," at the Second Advent : "We were SAVED IN HOPE ; but that which we HOPE FOR, we patiently WAIT FOR" (Rom. viii. 24, 25 ; cf. xiv. 11 ; 1 Cor. i. 8 ; 1 Thess. v. 8, 9) ; "Unto them that WAIT FOR HIM shall Christ appear the

second time unto SALVATION" (Heb. ix. 28; cf. Phil. iii. 20; 1 Thess. i. 10; 2 Thess. i. 10; Tit. ii. 13, 14); "Guarded by the power of God unto SALVATION READY TO BE REVEALED IN THE LAST TIME" (1 Pet. i. 5; cf. Heb. i. 14; 1 Pet. ii. 13; 2 Pet. iii. 12–15). Then shall the Old Testament pæan of "salvation" give place to the pæan of the New, the pæan of the "innumerable multitude of the saved of every race,"

"SALVATION to OUR GOD who sitteth upon the throne, and to the LAMB" (Rev. vii. 9, 10).

And the "loud voice" of triumph shall be "heard in heaven,"

"Now IS COME the SALVATION and the Power and the Kingdom of OUR GOD, and the Authority of HIS CHRIST" (Rev. xii. 10).

To sum up then thus far. The two New Testament doctrines of "Redemption" and "Salvation," with their background of Old Testament typical historical facts, though popularly confused, relate to *two entirely different conceptions*, that is, to two entirely different pre-existing conditions, and two entirely different consequent deliverances; both effected, however, by one and the same death of Christ. (Cf. the union of "Redemption" and "Salvation" in the Benedictus, Luke ii. 68–71.) In regard to the one, the condition is conceived as a *state of bondage*, and the deliverance an *immediate release to perfect freedom*, the only exception being the physical "redemption of the body," which awaits the Resurrection. In regard to the other, the condition is conceived as a *state of warfare*, and the deliverance an *overcoming of enemies*, not immediate as in the previous case, but *gradual*, destined to end in complete and final *victory* only at the Second Advent and the Resurrection: "The *last enemy* that shall be destroyed is *Death* (1 Cor. xv. 26).

The doctrine of "Atonement," completing the series of the three doctrines, is necessarily reserved for a subsequent article on similar lines.

J. B. McClellan.

DR. KIRSOPP LAKE ON "THE STEWARDSHIP OF THE FAITH."

II.

The summary in our previous article, much of which reproduces the author's own language, is evidence in itself that we have here a book which claims to be a contribution of considerable importance to the critical and historical literature of the day, and, within certain limits, the claim is made good. There is much in it that commands my sincere approval and appreciation. The purpose of the book, as far as it is an attempt to meet the pressing religious and spiritual needs of our own day, appeals strongly to me, and I am in entire sympathy with the author's plea for intellectual freedom and liberty of utterance. Its clear and sane outlook upon the modern world and its problems and its emphasis upon the Church's duty to seek a remedy for many of the present evils are all that one could desire. And yet the book as a whole must be pronounced unsatisfactory if not indeed dangerous. It fails because the central *motif*, that which underlies the whole purpose and method of the book, viz., the view which the author takes of the character of the development of early Christianity, is based on a misconception and is not true to historical facts as we know them. And here I ought to explain that I do not impute to Dr. Lake any deliberate misstatement. My complaint is that his historical sketch of primitive Christianity consists of a series of half-truths only, and is therefore narrow and one-sided. He has been careful

to emphasise all the factors which he considered necessary to build up his own theory, but he has entirely left out of sight factors of equal importance, just as historical and just as essential to a complete and true picture of early Christianity as those he has seen fit to employ. He sets out to demonstrate the duty of the Christian Church towards the world of the present day, and as the crucial pattern of what the Church should do to-day he appeals deliberately to what the Church has already done at another critical period of its history. Now if this view of what course the Church actually took at this particular period is incomplete and one-sided, and therefore unhistorical, the value of the book as a guide to the Church of our own day will be diminished in exact proportion to the comparative wrongness of that conception. If Dr. Lake has seriously misconceived the significance of the history and policy of the Apostolic Church and yet bases his view of the policy that is essential to modern Christianity on that misconception we shall exercise caution before we accept his lead in a matter which is of vital importance to the Church of to-day. I speak with all due humility, but it seems to me that he has gone seriously astray in those sections of the book which treat of the Teaching of Jesus, of the development of Christology and the growth of sacramental doctrine in the early Church. We will consider each of these points separately.

1. *The Teaching of Jesus.*

I have no complaint to make of our author's action in rigorously confining the teaching of Jesus to what is found in St. Mark and Q, although I am strongly of opinion that certain parts of St. Luke's Gospel not represented in either of these two documents and perhaps also portions of the Fourth Gospel have an equal claim to be heard on this

point. But the picture is not even true to the limited authorities that he has selected. As we have already noted he is a thoroughgoing eschatologist and accepts in their entirety the extremest theories of the strict eschatological school which contends that Jesus was the pure creation of His age, exclusively possessed by the eschatological ideas prevalent at that period, and completely governed by the view that He was designed by the Father to bring to an end the present world-order as the essential preliminary to the establishment of the Kingdom of God in another world. Thus he tells us that the *full* message of Jesus is given in epitome in the primitive account in Mark: "The Kingdom of heaven is at hand; repent and believe the good news" (25).[1] Of this statement we can only say that it is a mere travesty of the contents of our second Gospel. The presence of the eschatological element in the Gospels is undeniable, and it is a legitimate conclusion that Jesus did believe in a catastrophic end of the present world which would come quickly, after which the Kingdom of God would be established in all its glory, but it is also as certain that the Gospel conception of Christ and His teaching, even if we keep within the limits of St. Mark and Q, is not exhausted when we express it in terms of strict eschatology. It may be true that the eschatological view prevails in St. Mark, but it is equally true that the other view is predominant in Q. This has been insisted on again and again by representatives of every school of thought, and yet Dr. Lake has deliberately and entirely ignored the non-eschatological side of Christ's teaching which is present in both the documents he accepts as authoritative. It is not practicable within the limits of an article to produce detailed proof of this statement, but every student familiar with St. Mark and Q can call

[1] The figures in brackets refer to pages in Dr. Lake's book.

to mind parables and sayings of Jesus in which the Kingdom of God, far from being merely future and heavenly, is represented as being actually in existence at the time, and as being an inward reality in the life of the believer. There is abundant testimony that Jesus taught that in His earthly ministry He was there and then inaugurating the Kingdom of God upon earth. Q is full of teaching which emphasises God's care for the individual, the duty and privilege of prayer, the need of loving one's neighbour and of forgiving offences. It is simply not true to say that the *full* message of Jesus was contained in the preaching of the Kingdom of Heaven. He actually brings the Kingdom within the reach of men by casting out devils, healing diseases, forgiving sins, and filling men with a new hope and a new spirit. "He went about doing good" and shed around Him wherever He went an atmosphere of salvation and peace.

Equally fallacious is the view which regards the social and ethical teaching of Jesus as a mere "interims-ethik" (30).

The eschatological element constitutes after all only a comparatively small proportion of the Gospel tradition, and it has been wisely remarked "that where the eschatological motive, with its stress on the shortness of time, is prominent the contents of the teaching are commonplace and in no way affected by that idea, and on the other hand where the contents of the teaching might be regarded as determined by the eschatological outlook the eschatological motive is conspicuously absent. Never do we find in the Gospels both the motive and the contents avowedly eschatological."[1] Even the Sermon on the Mount, on which those who hold the "interims-ethik" theory mainly rely, is essentially concerned with the conscientious performance of the duties of daily life and not with special conduct

[1] C. W. Emmet: Expositor, viii. 4. 429.

dictated by the needs of an abnormal situation. Further, I would most strenuously demur to the statement that the whole teaching of Jesus was based on a complete misconception of what was going to happen (31). It is by no means necessary to assume that because Jesus looked forward to a catastrophic end of the existing age and the immediate establishment of the Kingdom of God He was therefore a mere deluded enthusiast. The fact that He utilised the current Jewish apocalyptic as the verbal form in which to clothe His conceptions of the Last Things should not blind us to the transcendence of the spirit of His teaching when compared with that of contemporary eschatology. It is the spirit rather than the form of His teaching in this direction that is of permanent value, and it is a pregnant saying of Sanday that Christ enriched every Jewish idea by putting more into it than He found there. The Judgment that He announced came speedily upon the Jewish people, and at no very distant date upon the Roman Empire. The Kingdom whose coming He proclaimed may be recognised in the new earth and new heaven which were the fruit of His Resurrection; in the spiritual presence of the Risen Lord with and in His faithful followers, and in the Church, sanctified and strengthened by the indwelling of the Divine Spirit, in each case a true Kingdom of God where Christ Himself reigns as King and Lord of All.

If space would allow, Dr. Lake's statement that "in public Christ said nothing of Himself and His personality was entirely subordinated to His preaching" (41) might be shown to be equally as perverse and incomplete as the other statements we have already discussed.

2. *The development of Christology in the Early Church.*

Our author's view of the development of Christianity in the early Church is open to the same objection as his

representation of the teaching of Jesus in that it is equally incomplete and is based entirely on a prejudiced interpretation of New Testament documents. This view is crystallised in that series of stages through which Christological thought is supposed to have passed as it grew from the simple faith of the original disciples of Jesus and closed with the relatively complete Christology of Gentile Christianity (81). Put briefly, Dr. Lake's conception amounts to this. During His earthly ministry Jesus never attained to a higher position in the minds of His followers than that of a Teacher or Prophet who rightly proclaimed the speedy coming of the Kingdom and demanded repentance as the essential prelude to it. After the Resurrection, the Prophet of the earthly ministry came to be regarded as the Messiah of Jewish eschatology who was shortly to inaugurate the Kingdom in which He was to reign. Through the instrumentality of the Antiochene Mission, Christianity was set free from its Jewish fetters and enabled to make its appeal to the Gentile world, and it was only when the Gospel was firmly planted on Gentile soil that Jesus, the Messiah of the Jewish Christians, came to be regarded as Divine and was constituted the centre of a religious cult and the recipient of the worship of His followers. This obviously significant development was due to the action of Hellenistic influences, and more particularly to the introduction of the title "Lord" as applied to Christ, the term forming the bridge between the more Judaic ideas of the early Christians and the Greek predilections of the new converts. There is much doubtless that is true and suggestive in the foregoing summary but a more misleading description of the growth of early Christology than this of Dr. Lake's it would be difficult to imagine. His view of the condition of belief among those who were witnesses of the earthly ministry is contradicted again and

again by his own words. There were probably many among the followers of Jesus to whom He never meant more than a great Prophet, but, as the author himself acknowledges frequently there was an inner circle of disciples who became convinced, as the outcome of intimate companionship with Him and of the repeated revelations made to them by Jesus Himself, that He was none other than the Messiah. It is difficult to understand how he could deliberately make a statement that belief in the Messiah was first found in the Church of Jerusalem seeing that he himself has more than once emphasised the fact that a small section of disciples shared the Messianic secret (42, 43). His representation of the belief of the earliest Christian community is equally unsatisfactory. Christians at this early stage, we are told, differed only from their brethren the non-believing Jews in the fact that they believed that Jesus was the predestined Messiah and claimed that they had been granted a special outpouring of the Spirit (52); but the Christ was not regarded as Divine nor had He become an object of worship. The latter stage was not reached until Christianity had come into contact with the Gentile "God-fearers" and the change was signalised by the adoption of the title "Lord" after the analogy of the deified Roman Emperors and the "Redeemer-gods" of the Mystery-Religions. Now the sources from which we derive any sound impression of the earliest Christology are, it is true, exceedingly scanty, but they are sufficient to demonstrate the essential inaccuracy of Dr. Lake's view of it. We have to rely almost entirely upon the early chapters of the Acts and it is well to remind ourselves that even Schmiedel acknowledges that these chapters are based on primitive sources and are therefore of considerable weight. Now the title "Lord," far from being the monopoly of Antiochene and Gentile Christianity is seen from them to have been frequently

applied to Christ by the earliest community of Christians. St. Peter in Acts ii. 36 assures his hearers that "God hath made him both Lord and Christ." Equally emphatic is Acts ii. 47, where we are told that "the Lord added to them day by day those that were being saved." Again in Acts viii. 16, a chapter which, according to Harnack, was derived originally from Philip, we find the expression "they had been baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus." So in the record of the vision to Ananias in Acts ix. 10–16, it is "the Lord" that speaks to him, and it is "the Lord" for whose name's sake that Saul of Tarsus is to suffer many things. In Acts x. 28, in the speech at the house of Cornelius, St. Peter speaks of Jesus as "Lord of All." The evidence that Christ at this stage was the object of the Church's worship is just as strong. It is seen principally in the remarkable stress laid on "the Name" which in the Old Testament invariably connotes Jehovah. It was by "faith in His name" that "His name made this man strong," and "there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved" (Acts iv. 12). Prayer to Christ was offered by the saints who are described as "those who call on thy name" (Acts ix. 14–21). Dr. Lake calls attention to the fact that the Christians of Jerusalem claimed that they had been granted a special outpouring which they regarded as the gift of the exalted Jesus (52), but he does not seem to have understood the influence upon them of this consciousness of their possession of the Spirit. "It had in their thought a specially eschatological significance, but it was in their actual experience far more than a mere earnest of the future. It was a reality which dominated and possessed them, a transforming Presence by which they were moulded and experienced. The Spirit was the Spirit of Jesus, and if the Spirit was the Spirit of Jesus, the Spirit of Jesus was the

Spirit of God. The new life of the Spirit which possessed them was something veritably and indeed Divine."[1] Our author himself makes use of language very similar to this but only in connexion with Gentile Christians. "Its members had gained the gift of the Spirit and henceforth this Spirit was the directing power in their lives. In the language of their day they expressed this by saying that the Spirit was the Lord and they were His slaves, but the Lord they also identified with Jesus Christ" (95). Now by what right or reason does he confine this influence of the Spirit to the Gentile converts? The Christians of Jerusalem were as indubitably recipients of the Spirit as were those of Antioch and Corinth, and what ground can there be for denying to them the gracious fruits of that outpouring which are freely granted in the case of converts who came from Gentile circles? Reasons there are none save Dr. Lake's prejudice in favour of a particular theory. Again, St. Paul is a witness to some extent of the Christological belief of the earliest Christian community. The First Epistle to the Thessalonians and the speech at Athens testify to the fact that he had not yet outgrown the eschatological outlook of the Church of Jerusalem. The Epistle is markedly eschatological in character and the speech which belongs to the same period of the Apostle's activity is concerned with the simple Galilean Gospel. "This is the Gnosis that Paul brings to Athens, not Eternal life through participation in the Christian mysteries, but the announcement of the impending Judgment in which Jesus Christ is to be the Judge. Its theology is that of the first generation of Christians, the men who had been Jews first before they believed in Jesus."[2] At this period, then, St. Paul occupied in his general theological outlook ground which

[1] *Foundations*, pp. 158, 159.
[2] Burkitt, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xv. 462.

was common to him and to the primitive Church of Jerusalem, and it is a fair assumption that his Christology had not advanced beyond theirs to any appreciable extent. Now in 1 Thessalonians i. 1 we read that the Church of the Thessalonians is "in God the Father and in the Lord Jesus Christ," and all through the Epistle Christ is "the Lord Jesus," "our Lord Jesus Christ," or simply "the Lord." Here, then, as early as the year 51, almost at the beginning of his mission to the Gentile world and while he was still in that stage of belief which was characteristic of the earliest form of Christianity, the Apostle is found using language the import of which is unmistakable. Our author acknowledges that there was no controversy between St. Paul and the Judaistic Christians concerning the doctrine of the Person of Christ, and controversy there was none simply because there was no ground for it. To the Christians of Jerusalem, as to St. Paul, the risen and exalted Jesus was both Christ and Lord, the giver of His Spirit, and His Spirit was the Spirit of God. It is at this point that we recognise the beginnings of the ascription of Divinity to Christ, and it was the consequence of the experiences of the early Christians and not the mere result of the contact of later Christianity with Gentile ideas. In this matter Dr. Lake has been too eager to accept the suppositions of German teachers like Heitmüller and Bousset, who would have us believe that the theory advocated in this book is the only true account of the growth of Christology at this period. I am by no means of a mind with those who hold that because German theologians as a whole, blinded by an unreasoning patriotism, have gone seriously astray in locating the responsibility for the present war, their critical and historical researches are in consequence of no value, but I do feel now as I have always felt that much they would teach us can only be accepted with a considerable

measure of caution, and caution is precisely what Dr. Lake has neglected to exercise in the present instance.

3. *The Development of Sacramental Doctrine.*

The position assumed here is that Jewish rites, which had originally only an eschatological meaning, came to be regarded as though they possessed the significance of sacrament or mysteries, in consequence of the contact of Christianity with the Graeco-Oriental Mystery-Religions. Thus Baptism, which in its primary stage was merely a Baptism of repentance for the remission of sins and as such an essential preparation for entering into the Kingdom of God, became Baptism in the name of Christ, effecting a union with His death and risen life, and finally emerged as the "new birth" of the Fourth Gospel, a process which in our author's opinion was entirely due to the influence of "Mystery-Religion" conceptions upon current Christian doctrine and practice. Similarly the Lord's Supper, which was originally a sign of the shortness of the time before the coming of the Kingdom and a symbol of the approaching suffering of Jesus, came to be interpreted by the Greek "God-fearers" as a sacrificial meal in the sense in which they regarded the religious meals associated with the mysteries of the Redeeming-gods and thus eventually became the "Eucharist" of the Catholic Church. This is not the place to discuss the truth of this statement in all its bearings and I must content myself with one or two criticisms of a general character. First of all with regard to Baptism there are two points which separate it definitely from the lustrations and rites of purification common to most Mystery cults; there is no trace in the latter of Baptism in the name of the deity and there is no hint that the Divine Spirit was connected with the ritual of lustrations as was the case with Christian Baptism. In the case of

the Lord's Supper it is significant that in St. Mark's account of the institution, the Eucharistic liturgical terms *εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν, εὐλογήσας, ἔδωκεν* are found, and that in the words "This is my blood of the (new) covenant which is shed for many," there is a manifest reference to Exodus xxiv. 8, "a new covenant was on the point of being ratified by the Blood of a better Sacrifice with a greater Israel." Here already a feast, a sacrifice, and a Real Presence are foreshadowed, and the only important addition in the Pauline account is the injunction to repeat the celebration as a memorial, with which is coupled the eschatological motive "Till He come," showing most clearly along what lines the Apostle's sacramental thought moved. Dr. Lake expatiates more than once upon the experience of the Greek convert and the marked results of that experience. E.g., to be "born again" represented to him a real psychical experience (90); and again, "This cult was inspired by the consciousness of a common experience of new life which was the dividing line between it and the rest of the world" (95). If we accept his theory Christian experience only came into existence with the arrival of the Greek convert, and the members of the primitive Christian mission knew nothing of the peace which came from the consciousness of the cleansing power of the waters of Baptism or of the ineffable joy produced by the sense of union with Christ and by the assurance of the living presence of Christ with them in the Eucharist. What we have learnt to regard as the most elementary factors of the Christian consciousness only came into being with the influx of the Gentile pagans into the Christian Church. To sum up what I consider to be the true position with reference to the connexion between St. Paul's Sacramental doctrine and the Mystery-Religions (because it is the Pauline doctrine that is in question): it is true that

St. Paul and his thought cannot be explained entirely and exclusively on Jewish lines, but on the other hand his central conceptions, his Christology and his teaching concerning the Sacraments, were not the mere outcome of his contact with Hellenistic and Oriental Mystery-Religions. He would probably be sensitive to the religious environment in which he found himself and would in consequence make use of a technical vocabulary which he found current and would not disdain to employ terms and ideas already familiar to his Greek converts.

The general tendency of Dr. Lake's thought with reference to the doctrine of the Person of Christ and the progress of early Christianity is perfectly manifest. Every phase of the history is to him merely the natural product of the particular period and environment. Jesus Himself is simply the child of His own age, a Jesus whose consciousness, message, and function are definitely limited by the conceptions of current Jewish eschatology. St. Paul is in the same way the product of his age and surroundings and is practically independent both of Jesus Himself and of the original Christian community, becoming the founder of a new religion which owes most of what is characteristic of it and permanent in it to the religious paganism amidst which he found himself. The Sacraments of Catholic Christianity have no vital connexion with their Founder or with the Church of the Apostles, and all that is of value in them they owe to the ideas which were borrowed from the Mystery-Religions of the Græco-Roman world. That there was a development of Christological and Sacramental thought in the early Church no one will deny, because growth is inseparable from life, and the Church of that age was essentially a living organism, but it was a development along scientific lines, from germs which already existed, and not the mere co-option of new

and alien elements. The Divinity of Christ was implied in the faith of the Christians of Jerusalem, and it was the new and ever widening experiences that enabled them gradually to realise all that was contained in that implication and not the influx of ideas from the heathen world around them. Christianity in the Apostolic age was not the mere synthesis of Jewish eschatology, Stoic philosophy, the cult of the Roman Emperors, and the theological and sacramental conceptions of the Mystery-Religions which Dr. Lake seems to think it was. It was adaptable to the extent that it was prepared to incorporate within itself all that was congruous to its own innate character, and much of what was best in the pagan world corresponded with this demand; but to say that it adopted conceptions which were alien to itself and on an entirely different plane of thought is not warranted by the evidence of the New Testament. The Messiah of the Jewish Christians did become the "Redeemer-God" of the Catholic Church because He was this from the beginning of the Christian consciousness, a consciousness which had not yet learned to express all that Christ meant to it. Baptism and the Lord's Supper from the earliest days connoted most of what was afterwards understood of Christian Sacraments, but there was no language to give utterance to the idea. It was in the realm of language that Christianity owed its chief debt to other religions, and it borrowed its terminology largely in order to make itself understood in a new world and because many of its experiences transcended the language known and current in Judaic circles.

Furthermore, whatever views we may hold as to the exact character of the development of Christianity in its various phases, it is beyond question that the result was a substantial enrichment in doctrine, ethics, and function. Now Dr. Lake's own scheme of restatement and adapta-

tion, which is supposed to be modelled on the pattern of the policy of the Apostolic Church, seems to me to proceed in the precisely opposite direction. For the Christ of the Catholic Church, in whom all the fulness of God dwells, we are to substitute the Prophet of Nazareth, who was deluded as to the realisation of His dearest hopes and fallible in His judgment of the outcome of His own destiny and of the future of the Kingdom whose advent He came to preach. As our object of worship we are to replace the Incarnate Son of God by an intellectual abstraction, the Logos, who dwelt in Jesus just as he dwells in every child of God, the difference being that of degree only. The grace ministered through the Christian Sacraments and the Church's ministry for the healing of guilt-stricken and sin-stained souls are mere afterthoughts, present neither in the intention of Christ nor in the minds of the Apostles, and all that vast machinery by means of which the saving health of Christ is brought to bear by the Church on society and the individual has no vital connexion with the Lord, but is the gift of religious paganism or the fruit of the reflection of the Christian community when faced with new conditions and difficulties. Dr. Lake's Christianity is a Christianity divorced from Christ, which owed little or nothing to the Master Himself and developed on lines of which He never dreamed. If this be a true picture of a Catholic Christianity and its origins I fail to see that it is of any essential importance whether it survives or not, and if a syncretism of the religious factors existent in the first century availed to save the world then I cannot understand why a similar syncretism of the many "isms" which occupy the religious stage to-day should not prove the salvation of the modern world.

Thus a book which contains much that is admirable must be pronounced to fail hopelessly of its primary pur-

pose, and we must definitely refuse to accept as a guide in an age of much perplexity a scholar who has so fundamentally misconceived the principles of Christian development during what was perhaps the most critical period in the Church's history. MAURICE JONES.

A POPULAR TEXT.

TOWARDS the close of the Epistle to Titus the writer makes Paul give some advice to his deputy about handling factious persons in the Church. "After a first and a second warning (*μετὰ μίαν καὶ δευτέραν νουθεσίαν*) have no more to do with (*παραιτοῦ*) a factious person (*αἱρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον*)." You need not have any hesitation about letting such a character severely alone; "You may be sure (*εἴδως*) a man like that"—i.e., a man who is obdurate, after a repeated rebuke and remonstrance—"is perverted (*ἐξέστραπται*), he is sinning and he knows it (*ἁμαρτάνει ὢν αὐτοκατάκριτος*)." To grant an unlimited right of discussion would be to foster an individualism or anarchy which would be simply intolerable.

The nearest parallel to this piece of church-discipline (Tit. iii. 10–11) occurs in the advice actually given by Paul to the Church at Thessalonica (2 Thess. iii. 14–15): "If any one will not obey our orders in this letter, mark that man, do not associate with him—that will make him feel ashamed! You are not to treat him as an enemy, but to put him under discipline (*νουθετεῖτε*) as a brother." Here,[1] as in Titus iii. 10–11, the offender is to be ostracised, but it is for the

[1] Ambrose, the strong bishop of Milan, in the fourth century, when commenting on Luke xvii. 3, compares this passage with Tit. iii. 10, pointing out that the Lucan text ("If your brother sins, check him, and if he repents forgive him," etc.) and the Thessalonian refer to sins against fellow-Christians, not against God, whereas in Tit. iii, 10 Paul deals out sharper measure to a heretic. "Non enim aeque condicio in deum hominemque

explicit purpose of bringing him to his senses—a method followed in the Church orders of the *Didaché* (xv. 3), in the case of any Christian who has injured his neighbour: "When any one has gone wrong towards his fellow, let no one speak to him, let him not hear a syllable from you, till he repents." In Titus iii. 10–11 this aim is ignored, and the counsel is intended for a man in authority, not, as in 2 Thessalonians and the *Didaché*, for the general body of the Church. The idea is that a responsible leader in the Church is not bound to argue indefinitely with upstart errorists (cp. Rom. xvi. 17), who show themselves factious and obstinate. He owes them a double warning—for which the basis was probably Matthew xviii. 15–17. But that is all. If the offender will not listen to a twice-repeated remonstrance, then "do not listen to him"—which is practically the force of *παραιτεῖσθαι* with a personal[1] object here as in Hebrews xii. 25. Presumably, the action of the bishop would be followed by similar action on the part of the Church, so that the insubordinate member would be shunned on every side; but the excommunication, such as it was, would be practical rather than formal. The outcome of it is not explained. In spite of Holtzmann's argument (*Die Pastoralbriefe*, p. 248), it is impossible to detect any stress laid on the salutary effects which the ostracism might produce on the offender. The salient point is that (*a*) the bishop is not to waste his time any further on such characters, and that (*b*) he need not have any scruples about declining to listen to them in future. It is one of the curt, judicious sayings on discipline which recur in the Pastoral epistles,

peccare . . . non est neque perfidia ut culpa ueniabilis; et quoniam plerumque per imperitiam error obrepit, corripiendum praecepit, ut aut pertinacia uitetur, aut prolapsio corrigatur." He reads the shorter form of Tit. iii. 10 (see below), which only gave the offender a single rebuke and then repudiated him.

[1] The author uses *παραιτοῦ, εἶδώς* also in 2 Tim. ii. 23, but with an impersonal object.

and which are intended to counteract the centrifugal tendencies of contemporary Christendom. (*a*) The dominating idea of the entire paragraph (verses 8–11) is the definition of a bishop's relevant duties. It is well worth his time and thought (ver. 8) to conserve the moral obligations of the Gospel in his Church, but he had better let empty controversies alone and also factious persons, for, beyond a certain limit, it would be a waste of time and energy to attend to them. Thomas of Aquinum, in his commentary, paraphrases the text: "hunc ergo deuita, propter periculum," quoting 2 Timothy ii. 17. But this is not the reason for the advice. What is uppermost is the consideration that time is too valuable to be spent on such offenders, and that a Christian Church is not to be carried on as if it were a debating society. (*b*) The policy of exclusion is justified on the ground that the man, by his very obduracy, shows that he is thoroughly perverted, and also that he realises he is committing a sin by persisting in his defiance of rebukes. "You may feel quite sure that man is sinning, and he knows it." This is not an easy principle to follow, and it is capable of serious abuse in the hands of brusque, self-willed authorities, who may satisfy themselves readily that any one who disagrees with them or ventures to dispute their views is not only in the wrong but acting deliberately against his better conscience. Such a conplacent reflection might be made, as it has been made, the justification for high-handed methods in the Church. Authority may be as guilty of self-will as dissent is. Calvin warns us in his note on the text that we have no right to fix the label of "heretic" on a person, simply because he does not agree with our opinions.[1] Nor

[1] "Sed moderatio adhibenda est, ne quisquis sententiae nostrae non subscribit, eum protinus faciamus hereticum. Sunt enim quaedam de quibus si dissentiant inter se Christiani, non tamen in sectas diuidentur." But *ἐξέστραπται* in Titus iii. 11 implies, as the LXX *ἐξεστραμμένη γενέα* (Deut. xxxii. 20) indicates, a deliberate evasion of truth and goodness.

have we any moral right to assume that even a troublesome person in the Church is invariably conscious that he is doing wrong, or deliberately acting against his conscience. Nevertheless, there is an ethical basis for this policy of exclusion in Titus iii. 10–11. Historically, it met the situation; these voluntary unions of Christians would have been dissipated without discipline. Besides, some people reach a stage at which it is useless to argue with them any longer, either because they are best left to experience, i.e., left to find out for themselves by painful experience what they refused to learn from the advice of wiser counsellors, or again because all the while they are resisting conscience. It is this latter class who are still covered by the words of our text.[1] Some people, in the Church and out of it, know perfectly well that they are in the wrong; they are evading a duty or taking a private line of their own, but they wrap themselves in a cloud of specious words, dignifying self-will, for example, with the title of independence, or justifying insubordination by claiming liberty of conscience. Such persons will argue and argue, as long as they can command an audience. They will not admit their responsibilities as members of a community, and indeed they will resent any reminder on that point. They will talk, forgetting that questions of right and wrong will not bear too much talking. Such interminable controversy is bad for the interests of the Church, and the salutary treatment is to put them down or shut them out. Argument will not really help them, and it will occupy time which wiser heads can spend more

[1] The term *αὐτοκατάκριτος* might mean that the man 'condemns himself" in the eyes of the Church by his conduct, but more probably it implies that he is conscious of what he is doing; "he is sinning" (*ἁμαρτάνει*) by his imperviousness to the double reprimand, and "he knows it," he is *αὐτοκατάκριτος*, not in the sense of Job xlii. 6, but in the sense that he deliberately puts himself in the wrong by his refusal to accept the reproof of the authorities.

profitably. This latter thought is fundamental to the context of Titus iii. 10–11. "Let them severely alone." "What will become of them, if they are thus ostracised?" "Never mind that; think what becomes of you, if you don't ostracise them." Ignatius (*Smyrn.* vii.) tells the Church not to talk about them; but here the bishop is told not to talk to them.

It is not surprising that this brusque injunction to break off relations with any one who was impervious to a double rebuke, should have proved a popular text in circles of the later Church, when discipline had to be administered as novel views swarmed around the organisation and the creed. Perhaps we are more surprised to find that its very popularity led at one time to an alteration in its wording. As the text came to be applied, it was sharpened, and this change of form was connected with a change of meaning. The exegesis and the reading reacted upon one another. The term αἱρέτικος was naturally taken in the full-blown sense of "heretic," as the second century went on, and in some circles of the early Western Church this involved the omission of the words καὶ δευτέραν, the idea being that a "heretic" deserved only a single remonstrance. We may notice these two features in order, though it is not possible to keep them quite apart.

Irenæus provides two illustrations of the text from Asiatic tradition in the early part of the second century (*Adv. Haer.* iii. 3, 4). "There are people who have heard from him [i.e. Polykarp, bishop of Smyrna] that John the disciple of the Lord once went to the baths in Ephesus, but, on noticing Cerinthus inside, he left the baths without bathing; "Let us fly," he cried, "in case the very bath-house fall—for Cerinthus, the enemy of the Truth, is inside!" And Polykarp himself, when Marcion once met him and said, "Do you recognise me?" answered, "I recognise the first-born of Satan!" Such was the caution shown by the

apostles and their disciples to avoid even verbal communication with any of those who were defacing the Truth. As Paul said, "After a first and a second warning, have no more to do with a factious person; you may be sure a man like that is perverted; he is sinning and he knows it." These anecdotes illustrate παραιτοῦ, not νουθεσίαν. Irenæus quotes them as instances of the sharp procedure which followed the double rebuke. Similarly, in i. 16. 3, after describing the fantastic theosophy of the Valentinians, he tells his reader to pity such deluded lunatics, instead of ridiculing them. "For these who desert the Church and adhere to such old wives' fables are really self-condemned. Paul bids us reject them 'after a first and a second rebuke.'" He then quotes 2 John 10–11, to corroborate Paul's testimony. The interesting point is that while the Greek text, in both passages, retains the longer canonical form (μίαν καὶ δευτέραν), the Latin translation in iii. 3. 4 (but not in i. 16. 3) preserves the shorter form, *post unam correptionem*. Now the Latin Irenæus is pre-Augustinian. Whether it was made before Tertullian wrote, is another question, the answer to which depends largely on our view of the evidence in the treatise *Adversus Valentinianos*. But once we pass from Gaul to North Africa, we find Tertullian in the next generation also quoting the shorter form of the text. As we might expect, it appealed to him, especially in advocating a short and easy way, based on juristic methods, of ruling out heretics. In the *De Præscriptione Hereticorum* he cites it twice with emphatic approval. "Paul advises Titus that a heretical person is to be rejected after a first rebuke (hominem hereticum post primam correptionem recusandum), since a man like that is perverted and is sinning, as self-condemned" (vi.). He explains "self-condemned" from the use of αἵρεσις in its bad sense; a man employs his power of "choice" either to set up or to

adhere to arbitrary doctrines, and such a "choice" proves his condemnation (quia et in quo damnatur, sibi elegit). "Whereas we are not allowed either to introduce anything of our own freewill or even to choose what some one else has introduced of his freewill." Later on, in the same treatise (xvi.), he quotes our text in proof of his peremptory demand that orthodox Christians must refuse to discuss the meaning of the Bible with heretics. Tertullian prohibits any such debates. Why, heretics have no right to the Bible! The Bible is the possession of the Church, and we rule out heretics from any argument or appeal on biblical grounds. Not because we are uneasy about the strength of our case, he hastens to explain. On the contrary, our policy is logical and loyal, "for our faith owes obedience to the apostle who prohibits us from entering upon vexed questions, from lending our ears to novel utterances, from dealing with a heretic after a first admonition!" Note that, Tertullian sharply adds: "After a single *admonition* (post unam correptionem)," not after a debate! Paul forbade debate by describing *admonition* as the only reason for dealing with a heretic, and he said "a *first* or single admonition," because the heretic is not a Christian—to prevent us from imagining that he should be reproved like a Christian brother once and again, and before two or three witnesses. "A further reason is that debates on the Bible with such heretics only make a Christian bilious or give him a headache!" Tertullian may be translating freely from some Greek text, but no Greek manuscript witnesses to the sharp, shorter form of Titus iii. 10. Or he may be paraphrasing some Latin version with the abbreviated form, if not the Latin Irenæus. Or again, the abbreviated form may be due to himself; the omission of the "second" rebuke may be set down to theological acerbity, as if he considered that one reprimand was quite enough for such creatures as

heretics. But Tertullian is not alone in quoting the peremptory form of the text. The African rendering [1] seems to have run: *haereticum hominem post unam correptionem euita, sciens quoniam* (quia ?) *peruersus est huiusmodi et peccat et est a semetipso damnatus.* Such a form was used by other Latin authors, especially in the North African Church, and unless they can be shown to have copied Tertullian, it is not easy to set aside the shorter, emphatic form as an idiosyncrasy of the Carthaginian father. In the third century, for example, Cyprian tells Bishop Cornelius of Rome to let heretics alone, because the apostle has said: *haereticum hominem post unam*[2] *correptionem euita, sciens quia perversus est huiusmodi et peccat et est a semetipso damnatus* (Ep. lix. 20). The same form appears in the *Testimonia* (iii. 78), though the reading varies between *primam* and *unam*. In Ep. lxix. 4 he explains αὐτοκατάριτος very much as Tertullian had done (*hic est enim qui reus sibi erit, non ab episcopo eiectus sed sponte de ecclesia profugus, haeretica praesumptione a semetipso damnatus*), and as Jerome was to do (*quae recessio propriæ conscientiae uidetur esse damnatio*), wilful withdrawal from the Church being an automatic sentence of condemnation passed by the heretic upon himself. Finally, in Ep. lxxiv. 2, Cyprian insists sternly that if heretics are thus self-condemned, it is all the more reasonable that the orthodox Church should condemn them, especially as the plagues of heresy have grown worse since the apostle wrote. Augustine's text is the shorter one also, e.g. in Ep. xliii., and this African form reappears even earlier in the pages of that drastic Churchman, Ambrose of Milan. Ambrose, towards the close of the fourth century, was in controversy with the Arians. Even in his exposition

[1] Cp. H. von Soden (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1909, p. 610).

[2] Some later MSS. harmonise the text here with the Vulgate by adding *et secundam.*

of Luke's Gospel he quotes Titus iii. 10–11 no fewer than four times; he explains, e.g., the saying "Foxes have holes" by remarking that Jesus compares heretics to foxes because they have deserted their true home in the Church and inhabit holes of their own—"hoc animal neque mansuescit unquam, unde et apostolus ait: *haereticum post unam correptionem deuita.*" Three times in his treatise *De Fide* he swings the same text as a weapon against the Arians; they are to be shunned like Scylla and Charybdis (i. 7), shunned even more stringently than the Jews (iii. 5—he notes that Titus iii. 10–11 was written by a man who knew what Jews were !), and excommunicated for fear of infection (v. prologue). It was also during the fourth century that another doughty controversialist in the same neighbourhood, Lucifer, the Sardinian bishop, employed his exile (356–361 A.D.) by writing to the Emperor Constantine a treatise *De Non Conueniendo cum Haereticis*, in which he uses our text to clinch his argument against any intercourse with the Arians. "Quomodo uobiscum Arrianis Christiani esse potueramus ? Cum dicat apostolus Paulus: *stultas quaestiones et genealogias et contentiones et lites legis deuita; sunt enim inutiles et uanae; haereticum hominem post unam correptionem deuita, sciens quoniam perversus est et peccat, cum sit a semetipso damnatus.*" This is what might be expected from Lucifer, who was a determined opponent of any conciliatory policy towards the Arians, even if they recanted; the shorter form of the text would appeal to a man of his temper. The irony of the situation is that he himself was rather a factious person in the Church. His quotation shows, however, like the usage of Ambrose, that this early abbreviation of the text was known to the West as well as to the African Church during the fourth century.

But it is an old Latin reading which has exceptionally little outside support. The N.T. text used by Lucifer has been

shown by Professor Souter[1] to be that of the Latin version preserved in the sixth century *Codex Claromontanus*, but Titus iii. 10–11 fails to illustrate this, for not even the Latin of *Codex Claromontanus* keeps this old Latin shorter form of Titus iii. 10. No Greek manuscript and no version contain any trace of it. The emergence of it in Lucifer as well as in the fourth century (Roman ?) commentary on the Pauline epistles called "Ambrosiaster" (which reads "post primam correptionem deuita") may be explained by the hypothesis that these texts represent recensions of Cyprian's Latin text which had been introduced from Africa. If this be so, the fact that the shorter form remains still in the African text of the pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum* is a fresh proof that the African texts evidently reached Spain as well as Sardinia.

We must now turn back, however, to show that the Greek writers knew nothing of this reading, and that it is ignored by several Latin writers in the early centuries.

Origen, in the first half of the third century, evidently regards Titus iii. 10–11 as a counsel of mild firmness. When Celsus scoffs at the internal divisions and jarring sects of the Church, he (*Adv. Cels.* v. 63) quietly retorts that such discussions are not invisible within the spheres of philosophy, or of medicine, and proceeds to argue that when Christians encounter ἑτεροδόξοι who refuse to listen to reason, the only thing is to fall back upon the principle which Paul laid down in (the longer form of) Titus iii. 10–11, that the heretic must be rejected after a double admonition. "Besides," he continues, "these who know *Blessed are the peacemakers* and *Blessed are the meek*, would never loathe those who deface Christianity, nor would they describe misguided persons as Circes and seductive gulls (κύκηθρα αἱμύλα)." He

[1] *Texts and Studies*, vii. 4, 213–214; *Journal of Theological Studies*, vi. 240–243.

takes a similar line in his comment on Titus iii. 10–11. Unfortunately we only possess a fragmentary Latin version of this comment in Rufinus' translation[1] of the martyr Pamphilus' Defence of Origen, which quotes the text in the shorter form ("post unam correptionem," i.e., probably the text of Pamphilus, not of Origen), and speaks of the peril involved in branding men as heretics. Origen takes "heretic" in its ecclesiastical sense, understanding by it Marcion, the Ebionites, the Patripassians, and so forth. He is really more interested in discussing those who come under this description than in discussing their treatment, but he remarks that it is not only dangerous but superfluous to condemn such heretics, since they condemn themselves. He is thus less drastic than Cyprian (see above). Chrysostom and Basil, in the next century, go further. Chrysostom argues that in 2 Timothy ii. 25 ("the Lord's servant must be gentle in his admonitions to the opposition—God may perhaps let them change their mind and admit the Truth") the apostle is referring to people who were not yet irreclaimable, whereas here the heretic is past hope (*ὅταν δὲ δῆλος ᾖ πᾶσι καὶ φανερὸς, τίνος ἕνεκεν πυκνεύεις ἵκῃ ; τί τὸν ἀέρα δέρεις ;*). Such a heretic cannot say that nobody warned him ; if he adheres to his opinion after a double rebuke, he is self-condemned. Basil (*Ep.* xxii.) combines both Matthew xviii. 15–17 and Titus iii. 10–11. "Any one who, after a first and second admonition, holds by his error, should be brought before the presiding authority (*τῷ προεστῶτι*) ; perhaps he may be ashamed when he is censured by the majority. But if he will not be set right even then, he is to be cut off from the main body like an offence, and treated as a pagan and a taxgatherer for the safety of those who are

[1] In translating Euseb. *H.E.* iv. 14, where the passage from Irenæus iii. 3 (see above) is quoted, Rufinus preserves the longer form : *post unam et alteram correptionem.*

diligent in their obedience." Similarly Theodore of Mopsuestia, in the fifth century, uses Titus iii. 10–11 to correct the impression which Philippians i. 18 made on some minds, that the apostle advocated a policy of lax tolerance towards heretics. Titus iii. 10–11 shows that heretics are to be attacked and expelled; in Philippians the apostle is only speaking of orthodox but inconsistent and spiteful believers.

These Greek fathers all feel the difficulty of harmonising Titus iii. 10–11 with other texts, and they all use the longer form. Neither in them nor in the Latin (African) authors who use the abbreviated form, is there any discussion of a difference in readings. The text, in the fuller or the shorter form, is quoted and explained; that is all. The sole exception to this is Jerome. Here we have a Latin non-African writer, who notices both forms. His note runs thus: "Haereticum igitur hominem post unam correptionem . . . deuita . . . Legitur in Latinis codicibus (quod unum papa quoque Athanasius approbabat) post unam et alteram correptionem; quod scilicet non sufficiat tantum semel eum corripi vel commoneri, qui aliquo sit depravatus errore; sed et secunda sit ei adhibenda doctrina, ut in ore duorum aut trium testium stet omne uerbum." This proves that the shorter form of Titus iii. 10 was not confined to Africa; as the evidence of Pamphilus (?) shows, it was current in Palestine as well as in Milan and Sardinia and Spain. When Jerome writes "in Latinis codicibus," Dr. Hort remarks; "the context suggests that he meant *Graecis*." These manuscripts must have been the precursors of the present canonical text with its *μίαν καὶ δευτέραν νουθεσίαν*, and when the Vulgate was prepared[1] the wording of Titus iii. 10 ran: *post unam et secundam correptionem*.[2] This longer

[1] Dom de Bruyne (*Revue Biblique*, 1915, pp. 358–392) gives reasons for attributing the Vulgate version of Paul to Pelagius, not to Jerome.

[2] The sixth century African (Swete) or Gallic (Hort) translator of Theodore of Mopsuestia read, *post primam correctionem et secundam*, and the contem-

form is quoted by Pope Innocent I., writing in 417 A.D. to Jerome (*Ep.* cxxxvi.). "The apostle testifies that controversy has never been of any service in the Church. Hence he directs that heretics are to be admonished once or twice at the beginning of their heresy, instead of being subjected to a long series of rebukes. Wherever this rule is carelessly observed, the mischief which is to be prevented is heightened instead of being avoided." Jerome himself employs the fuller form, e.g., on Matthew xv. 13 and also in his dialogue *contra Pelagianos* (iii. 16). Atticus, the orthodox protagonist, declares: "When we rebuke a heretic, we give him life; you may die to your heresy and live to the Catholic faith." Critobulus retorts, "Why do you not accuse us, if you know we are heretics." "Because," the answer comes, "the apostle teaches me to shun a heretic after the first and the second admonition, not to accuse him." In his commentary he gives the same explanation of *αἵρεσις* as Tertullian had already offered, points out that *commonitio* is a better rendering of *νουθεσία* than *correptio*, and adds that heretics are self-condemned because they withdraw from the Church wilfully ("quae recessio propriae conscientiae uidetur esse damnatio").

The data, with regard to the different readings—(*a*) double rebuke, (*b*) single rebuke—may be stated shortly.

(1) The earliest evidence (Irenæus in Greek) is for (*a*).

(2) By the beginning of the third century, a strong body of evidence begins to gather in favour of an (African) Old Latin (*b*).

(3) But (*b*) disappears in the Vulgate, is attested by no other version, is preserved in no Greek codex, and is unknown to the Greek fathers.

porary Latin of Codex Claromontanus reads *post unam correptionem et duo* (like the uncorrected Greek of the same codex, *νουθεσίαν καὶ δ̄ο̄*, and the third corrector=*νουθεσίαν καὶ δευτέραν*). Possibly this reflects an awkward attempt to harmonise the shorter form with the Vulgate.

These data present a textual problem of some nicety, one of the problems associated with the larger question of the origin of the Old Latin versions. To determine which of the two readings would be more likely to be altered than the other, is to balance probabilities. On the one hand,[1] as Jerome suggests, the shorter form might have seemed too severe, especially in view of Matthew xviii. 15–17. On the other hand, the exigencies of controversy with heretics might have led to the dropping of the καὶ δευτέραν as inconveniently generous and unduly patient; any one who knows the tone of controversy in the North African Church can understand how congenial this shorter form would be to the temper of the local theologians.[2] Upon the whole, this latter view appears slightly more probable than the other. How much earlier (if at all) than Tertullian the shorter form of the text can be traced, remains uncertain, in view of the obscurity attaching to the Latin versions of Paul which were current in Africa or elsewhere (Latin Irenæus) when he began to write.

A single instance of the popularity of the text may be quoted, in conclusion, from the period of the Reformation. Luther once warmly praised it: "Paul was the shrewdest man after Christ—the Paul who says, *a heretical man after a first and a second admonition reject.*"[3] The story of Luther's

[1] Among modern editors, Wohlenberg (in Zahn's *Kommentar*) seems the only one who even considers the possibility that the shorter reading might suit the context better than the longer one.

[2] Renan's bland objection to Titus iii. 10–11 is characteristic. "Quoi de moins conforme aux maximes d'un homme bien élevé? L'hérétique a son opinion, comme vous avez la votre; c'est peut être lui qui a raison. La politesse veut même qu'en sa présence vous affectiez de le croire. Le monde n'est pas un couvent, et les prétendus avantages de moralité qu'on obtient par la censure et la délation entraînent des inconvénients bien plus considérables que ceux qu'on avait cru éviter" (*L'Église Chrétienne*, pp. 102–103). This reminds one of the views which Midshipman Easy began by propounding in the service.

[3] In Conrad Cordatus' *Tagebuch über Dr. Martin Luther*, ed. H. Wrampelmeyer (1885), p. 17: "Paulus ist post Christum der klugste man gewesen, qui dicit. . . ."

conflicts within as well as without the Reformed Church, and the sharpness with which he could turn from an opponent, illustrate this hearty endorsement of our text. An equally significant, though less pleasant, comment is Calvin's reminder that Titus iii. 10–11 must not be taken to imply that heretics were simply to be let alone ; Paul, he declares, is merely describing the duties of a Bishop, whereas the office of the civil power is to follow up the episcopal censure with sterner action, if need be, against those who devise and propagate vicious doctrine.

JAMES MOFFATT.

THE MOSAIC ORIGIN OF THE DECALOGUE.

Of all the baffling problems that confront the student of the Old Testament, none is more baffling than that of the origin of the Decalogue. Here, as in the case of certain psalms and sections of prophecy, scholars whose general critical methods and outlook are the same differ in their estimate by more than half a millennium. This discussion is an attempt to show that the Decalogue may still be justly claimed for Moses.

I. The Ritual Decalogue.

But what is the Decalogue? It exists in three versions (Exod. xx. 1–17; Deut. v. 6–21; Exod. xxxiv. 14–26) which ultimately reduce themselves to two—the ritual decalogue of Exodus xxxiv. and the ethical decalogue, as we may call it by distinction, which exists in two recensions in Exodus xx. and Deuteronomy v. For good reasons it has always been the ethical decalogue on which the chief interest was concentrated; but the ritual decalogue ought not to be lightly brushed aside in the discussion, for of it too the statement is made at the conclusion of the precepts: "And Jahweh said to Moses, 'Write thou these words; for after the tenour of these words, I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel.' . . . And he wrote upon the tablets the words of the covenant, the ten words." The natural implication of these words as they stand is that the "ten words" written upon the tablets are the words which immediately precede. These, however, are not ten, but twelve. Setting aside the redactional expansions, they are as follows:—

1. Thou shalt worship no other God.
2. Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.
3. Thou shalt keep the feast of unleavened bread.
4. All that openeth the womb is mine.
5. Six days shalt thou work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest.
6. Thou shalt observe the feast of weeks;
7. And the feast of ingathering at the turn of the year.
8. Three times in the year shall all thy males appear before the Lord Jahweh, the God of Israel.
9. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread.
10. The sacrifice of the passover shall not be left until the morning.
11. The first of the firstfruits of thy ground shalt thou bring to the house of Jahweh thy God.
12. Thou shalt not boil a kid in its mother's milk.

A glance, however, at the passage in which these precepts occur is enough to show that it has been subjected to considerable editorial expansion, and very probably additions have been made to the precepts themselves; consequently —especially when we remember the ancient tendency to throw laws into groups of five or ten—we may readily believe that the original version of these ritual demands constituted a genuine decalogue, whether with Wellhausen [1] and Cornill [2] we sacrifice the fifth and the eighth in the above list, or with H. P. Smith [3] the sixth and the seventh. On any view we have a purely ritual decalogue of which we may well ask whether these represent the demands which ancient Israel regarded as having been solemnly inscribed upon tablets by the finger of God Himself. At this point intricate critical problems emerge in connexion with verse 28. "*He* wrote upon the tablets the words of the covenant, even the ten words." *He*—who? With

[1] *Composition des Hexat.*, pp. 331 f.

[2] *The Culture of Ancient Israel*, p. 47. Cf. also his essay in *Studien zur semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte J. Wellhausen gewidmet*, pp. 109-113.

[3] *The Religion of Israel*, p. 111.

the story of the broken tablets in our mind, which were renewed and, according to Deuteronomy x. 4, re-inscribed by divine fingers, we are tempted to think of Jahweh as the subject—tempted all the more by the concluding phrase "the ten words." But it is certainly more natural, in the context, to regard the *he* as referring to Moses; and it is also possible, though it is not necessary, to regard the concluding phrase as a later gloss. The quoted clause of verse 28 may, however, once have stood in more immediate connection with verse 4, where it would naturally refer to the re-writing of the ethical decalogue. Even, however, if we thus withdraw these important words from their present context, the case is not seriously affected: for verse 27 still conveys the impression that the ritual decalogue not only (like the longer but somewhat similar section, xx. 22–xxiii. 33) represents the terms of the covenant,[1] but was, like the ethical decalogue, written upon tablets of stone. Now can this decalogue be Mosaic?

On the face of it that would seem to be most improbable. It reflects with unmistakable lucidity Israel's agricultural experiences in Canaan; and while it would be rash to affirm dogmatically that Moses could not have foreseen this and legislated for it, such an assumption must be regarded as extremely unnatural. Legislation accompanies, it does not anticipate experience,[2] and the ritual decalogue finds its most natural place after Israel's occupation and settlement of the land. Again, the later reputation of Moses as Israel's greatest *prophet*[3] would be hard indeed to explain, if his

[1] Cf. Exod. xxiv. 7.

[2] Of course legislation does, and is intended to, prepare the way for further advances *within the region of problems already raised and experiences already familar*: Ezekiel's sketch e.g. (xl.-xlviii.) prepares the way for P. But this obvious consideration is here irrelevant, and does not invalidate the argument.

[3] Deut. xxxiv. 10.

supreme achievement had been the devising of a decalogue completely and exclusively ritual. Doubtless it would be a mistake in the other direction to suppose that in the cultic aspect of religion he had no interest whatever. The book of Deuteronomy itself, which breathes the finest prophetic spirit, takes keen interest in, and carefully provides for, the proper celebration of the worship: indeed its *raison d'être* is a reformation of the cult. Noble prophetic feeling is far from inconsistent with a genuine regard for the claims and details of public worship: prophet and priest deal with different departments, but they are not necessarily hostile to each other. The priestly tradition represented by P, which ascribes the whole of the later cult to Moses, rests upon very much earlier traditions which are historically probable, if not secure. Moses acts as priest, e.g. in Exodus xviii., when he sits to judge the people, and gives a *torah* to those who come to consult him; and again in the very difficult chapter, Exodus xxxii., he is responsible for the consecration of the tribe of Levi to the priestly office (vers. 25–29). But it is one thing to admit that the prophet need not despise or challenge the priest, and a very different thing to maintain that he would embody his conception of religion and his demands upon his people in a document exclusively cultic and destitute of any ethical element whatever. Considering the supremely ethical quality of Hebrew religion, and the strength and tenacity of the tradition which claimed Moses as its founder, there can be no doubt that if we were compelled to choose between the ritual and the ethical decalogue as the legacy of Moses to his people, the former at any rate would have to be abandoned.

A plausible attempt, resting on a superficial view of the documentary sources and an equally superficial view of the history, has been made to secure a very early and a pos-

sibly Mosaic origin for the ritual decalogue. This decalogue, as it happens, occurs in J, which is regarded by most [1] scholars as the older of the two prophetic documents, while the Exodus version of the ethical decalogue occurs in E, the later; and some have consequently been tempted to the inference that the ritual is necessarily therefore the older of the two. This fits in only too well with their general scheme of the development of Hebrew religion, which starts with ritual and only develops its ethical content in the course of the centuries. They would therefore be willing to allow that the ritual decalogue may well be Mosaic while the ethical is claimed as prophetic. The chronological order is probably just the reverse, the simple ethical decalogue being addressed to nomadic Israel, the ritual, as we have seen, to agricultural Israel. But meantime, as against the argument adduced, two or three points have to be remembered: (i) that the later documents may very well preserve, and doubtless often do preserve, much that is old, even very old. It is now generally recognised that much of the legislation of P, and some of the touches even in his quasi-historical narrative, are reminiscences of very ancient material. Priority of literary attestation is more or less accidental, and should never be decisive in determining historical sequence. (ii) When it is claimed that the emphasis on ritual points to an early date, it must not be forgotten that this very emphasis is just the peculiar characteristic of the later and post-exilic period, as evidenced by Ezekiel, P, Ezra, Chronicles. Ritual must always have been a feature of the popular religion; it was as prominent at the end as at the beginning, and much more elaborate.

[1] Not by all. Professor M'Curdy, e.g. (*History, Prophecy and the Monuments*, §§ 930–933), makes J later than E.

II.

Egyptian and Babylonian Parallels to the Ethical Decalogue.

(iii) Surely the demands of the ethical decalogue are not so searching that we can only find a reasonable place for them at an advanced stage in the development of Hebrew experience. It is a profound mistake to regard it, as some have done, as a practically exhaustive compendium of human duty. It is, on the whole, negative rather than positive, telling the men of Israel what to avoid rather than what to do in dealings with their neighbours; it does not rise to the splendid height of Leviticus xix. 18, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," though even that great word, as the context shows, has stamped upon it the national limitations of the Old Testament. It is reasonable to suppose that, in its primary application, a similar limitation attached to the precepts of the Decalogue; and Kautzsch is probably right when he says that "the different commands and prohibitions have not an absolute but only a relative scope." [1] Nor must it be forgotten that some of the demands of the Decalogue are so simple and elementary that even the most primitive form of human society would soon have discovered them for itself. Some rudimentary respect for life and property is necessary if there is to be such a thing as society at all. Centuries before Moses moral obligations similar to those of the Decalogue are recognised in the religious literatures of the Egyptians and the Babylonians. The *locus classicus* for Egyptian conceptions is the famous one hundred and twenty-fifth chapter of the so-called Book of the Dead.[2] The dead man,

[1] *H.D.B.*, ext. vol., p. 634, col. 2.

[2] "It is impossible to say when or how this beautiful Chapter, with its lofty conceptions of morality, grew, but, although the form in which these are set forth is not older than the eighteenth dynasty"—roughly

when he enters the Hall of Osiris, delivers his negative confession in forty-two declarations addressed to the court of forty-two gods, who no doubt primarily represented the nomes, or administrative districts of Egypt. Among these declarations are the following items, which disavow crimes of violence, deceit and immorality. "I have not slain man or woman (5), I have not robbed (2), I have not stolen (4), I have not stirred up strife (25), I have not uttered falsehood (9), I have not made light the bushel (6), I have not defiled the wife of a man (19)." This is followed by a positive declaration, addressed to the gods of the underworld, in which occur the remarkable words, "I have given bread to the hungry man, and water to the thirsty man, and clothing to the naked man." [1] This goes far beyond the merely negative righteousness of the Decalogue.

Similar ethical conceptions meet us in early Babylonian texts. Of the composition of these texts Professor Jastrow says, "There are indications in the language which warrant us in not passing below 2000 B.C. as the period when many of the incantation texts received their present form, and the editions were completed from which many centuries afterwards the Assyrian scribes prepared their copies for their royal masters." [2] In the Shurpu series the following questions occur among others, put by the exorciser in his endeavour to discover the explanation of the transgression which has brought some sufferer under the power of a demon or sorcerer :—

about 1400 B.C.—"the ideas themselves belong to a period which is as old as the rule of the kings of the third dynasty"—in the fourth millennium B.C. (Budge, *Book of the Dead*, Translation, p. clxix.)

[1] See E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead* (Translation), pp. 193 ff. ; also vol. vii. in *Books on Egypt and Chaldæa*, pp. 366 ff. ; J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 301 f. ; Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, vol. i. pp. 187 f.

[2] *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 257.

Is it hatred towards his elder brother ?
Has he despised father or mother ?
Has he insulted his elder sister ?
Has he for "No" said "Yes,"
And for "Yes" said "No" ?
Has he used false weights ?
Has he taken a wrong sum ?
Has he fixed a wrong boundary ?
Has he removed a boundary, limit, or territory ?
Has he possessed himself of his neighbour's house ?
Has he approached his neighbour's wife ?
Has he shed the blood of his neighbour ?
Was he frank in speech
But false in heart ?
Was it "Yes" with his mouth
But "No" in his heart ? [1]

Even if we concede, as has been suggested, that the ethical features of the incantation texts are, to some extent, intrusions of later editors, the code of Hammurapi, which appears to belong to the twentieth century B.C. and which even then had probably a long history behind it, is evidence enough that the recognition of the necessity of a moral basis for human society was practically as clear in those early days as it is to-day.[2] In the introduction to the laws, Hammurapi declares that he was appointed by the gods as king of Babylon, "to spread justice in the land, to destroy the wicked and the bad, so that the powerful may not oppress the weak." If that code has nothing to say about murder, it is evidently because, as Dr. Johns says,[3] "that was left to be dealt with by well-established custom." The seriousness of theft is recognised—very

[1] *Id.*, p. 291; R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, pp. 170–175; Gressmann, *A.O.T.B.*, i. pp. 97 f.

[2] For a discussion of the relation of Babylonian and Hebrew Laws and Thought, see Dr. C. H. W. Johns' *Schweich Lectures* for 1912; Professor Morris Jastrow's *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, 1914, ch. v. Hebrew and Babylonian Ethics.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

drastically no doubt—by a demand for the death of the burglar, at least in certain cases. "If a man has stolen the goods of temple or palace, that man shall be killed, and he who has received the stolen thing from his hand shall be put to death" (§ 6). "If a man has bought silver, gold, manservant or maidservant, ox or sheep or ass, or anything whatever its name, from the hand of a man's son, or of a man's slave, without witness and bonds, or has received the same on deposit, that man has acted the thief, he shall be put to death" (§ 7). The heinousness of adultery is recognised by imposing the penalty of drowning upon the guilty pair. "If the wife of a man has been caught in lying with another male, one shall bind them and throw them into the waters" (§ 129). The ethical levels attained centuries before the time of Moses by peoples who exercised so profound an influence over that part of the world in which Israel received her early nurture, show the futility of assigning a late date to the Decalogue on the strength of its ethical quality. With the exception of the tenth commandment, to be discussed later, its ethical demands are essentially simple; and even in a primitive society it is as natural to look for morality as for ritual, both in at least a rudimentary form. So far, then, as the argument has gone, there is no reason for denying the ethical decalogue to Moses.

J. E. Macfayden.

ISAIAH AND WAR.

Analogies abound between Isaiah's time and our own; but I do not propose to dwell upon them, or to point the moral of his message for our own day. The prophet, if we can only form a living picture of him as he moves in his sovereign way, among the problems and perplexities of his time, will speak very directly across the ages to our world too, and so intelligibly that the least imaginative modern reader can point the moral for himself.

The Fact of War.

Of all the facts of his time the most lurid was the fact of war—always present as a spectre and a possibility, and very often as a grim reality. Indeed, throughout the whole of the Old Testament the sword holds a pathetically prominent place: from many a page it flashes, "made as lightning, sharpened for slaughter."[1] It is no fancy picture that the prophet paints of war, the people were only too familiar with its anxieties, alarms and horrors. Twice at least Jerusalem herself was threatened. Once her king was "shut up like a bird in a cage," and the country of which she was the capital was cruelly overrun by Sennacherib, who boasts that he besieged and captured forty-six of its strong cities; so that Isaiah can say:

> Your country is desolate,
> Your cities are burned with fire;
> And the daughter of Zion is left
> Like a booth in a vineyard.
> Had Jahweh of Hosts
> Not left us a remnant,
> Almost had we been as Sodom,
> And like to Gomorrah.[2]

[1] Ezek. xxi. 20 (E. V. 15). [2] i. 7–9.

The terror inspired by these actual or projected assaults upon the capital is vividly reflected in the trepidation of two of Judah's kings: in Ahaz, of whom it is said that "his heart and the heart of his people shook, as shake the forest trees before the wind"; [1] and in Hezekiah, who, with beating heart, went up to the temple to spread Sennacherib's insolent letter before Jahweh, as if the more surely to evoke from Him an avenging response, and prayed an impassioned prayer for deliverance.[2] On the former occasion we see Ahaz going out anxiously to inspect his water-supply [3]—always Jerusalem's weak spot in time of siege; and on the latter, we see the people carefully examining their armoury and feverishly repairing the breaches in the city walls.[4] We see the Jewish officials wincing under the Rabshakeh's taunting allusion to their deficiency in the cavalry arm, and thereafter requesting him to be good enough to conduct the negotiations in Aramaic rather than in Hebrew, so that the people should not know what was going on.[5] In a vision, resting doubtless upon some reality, we see the people in their extremity appealing to wizards and necromancers, hurrying across their devastated land, hard pressed and hungry, cursing the king who could not, and the God who would not save them, looking in vain up to the heaven and down to the earth, wrapped in the thick night of despair.[6] And when the bloody work of war was done, we see the survivors, few as the berries left upon an olive tree, after its branches had been beaten.[7] Again, we see perplexed statesmen scheming for the help now of Assyria, now of Egypt, sending their ambassadors across the great and terrible wilderness, with animals loaded with presents for the Power whose help they are courting.[8] It is all a very graphic testimony

[1] Isa. vii. 2. [2] xxxvii. 14 ff. [3] vii. 3. [4] xxii. 9 f.
[5] xxxvi. 8, 11. [6] viii. 19 ff. [7] xvii. 16. [8] xxx. 6.

to the perplexities and terrors into which a nation is thrown by the advent or the imminence of war.

Further, Isaiah's observations of the fortunes of the northern kingdom had taught him that the fear or the pressure of war easily led to social revolution; and very striking is the picture of the social and political chaos which he anticipates for Judah, when the normal sanctities would be no longer recognised, and there would be a universal reluctance to assume the responsibilities of office.

When one takes hold of his brother (citizen)
  Saying, "In thy father's house is a robe (of office),
Come, do thou be our ruler,
  And let this heap of ruins be under thy hand,"
In that day he shall lift up (his voice in protest) saying,
  "I will not be a binder up,
For in my house is neither bread nor mantle,
  Ye shall not make me ruler of the people." [1]

Elsewhere Isaiah describes civil war as a species of cannibalism, in which

No man spareth his brother,
  But each eats the flesh of his neighbour.[2]

It is plain that to the prophet and his contemporaries the actual and resultant horrors of war were very familiar.

The Meaning of War.

Dreaded by the people, war was welcomed by the prophet as a stern vindication of the moral order which he had so passionately urged and they had so flagrantly defied. Upon the grim fact of war, as upon every fact, Isaiah put a moral meaning. To him it was (i.) a penalty and (ii.) a call —a penalty for sin, the sins especially of national pride and social injustice; and a call to the nation to return to the moral law they had flouted and the holy God they had defied.

(i.) *a.* "*If ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be made to taste the*

[1] iii. 6f. [2] ix. 19f.

sword[1]—there is Isaiah's philosophy of war. To the man who began his ministry with a vision of Jahweh upon His throne, high and lifted up, and who believed with all his soul that there was no place in the universe for the exaltation of any other, no sin was more odious or inexplicable than pride; and in one of his earliest and most splendid poems he describes the doom which, in the terrible day of Jahweh, is to hurl the pride of Judah to the ground and to drive men cowering with fear into the dens and caves of the earth.

For a day of Jehovah is coming
Upon all that is haughty and proud,
Upon all that is lofty and high:
Upon cedars of Lebanon all,
And oaks of Bashan all;
Upon all the great mountains
And all the high hills;
Upon all the proud towers
And all the strong walls,
And all gallant ships.
Man's haughtiness shall be brought down,
And man's loftiness shall be laid low,
And in that great day
Shall Jehovah alone be exalted.

Get ye into the caves of the rocks,
And the holes of the earth,
From before the dread presence of God,
When He rises up to smite earth with His terror.[2]

When a nation begins to boast of her possessions and achievements, it is time for her pride to be punctured by the enemy's sword. As to Judah, this was also the prophet's message to Israel, who had said *in pride and in stoutness of heart*:

The bricks are fallen,
But with stone we will build;
The sycamores are hewn down,
But we will change them for cedars.

So Jahweh—note the connexion—

[1] i. 20. [2] ii. 12 ff.

So Jahweh exalted his adversaries against him,
And stirred up his enemies.[1]

Such too is the burden of his elegy—if it be his—on Phœnicia, that brilliant incarnation of the purely commercial spirit untouched and unrestrained by religion, the country whose ships were upon every sea and whose motto was "Phœnicia rules the waves." "Who hath purposed her destruction?" the poet asks; and he answers:

Jahweh of hosts hath purposed it,
To desecrate pride,
To abase all splendour,
All the honoured of earth.[2]

War may be a potent instrument for the humbling of national pride.

b. But, according to Isaiah, social injustice no less surely than pride is chastised by the terrible discipline of war. The moral condition of Judah in the prophet's day is most summarily set forth in the fifth chapter, which announces its repeated *Woes* upon the vices by which contemporary society was being corrupted. These vices were the evil-smelling grapes which the Vine Judah had brought forth after the long and loving care exercised upon her by Jahweh, the great Vine-dresser. The vineyard song, illustrating the high privilege and the lamentable fall of Judah, is thus happily translated by the late Dr. Cheyne:

A song will I sing of my friend,
A love-song touching his vineyard.
A vineyard belongs to my friend
On a hill that is fruitful and sunny;
He digged it and cleared it of stones,
And planted there vines that are choice;
A tower he built in the midst,
And hewed also therein a wine-vat;
And he looked to find grapes that are good.
Alas! it bore grapes that are wild.[3]

[1] ix. 9f. [2] xxiii. 9. [3] v. 1ff.

And the wild grapes are the social wrongs denounced in the following section—landgrabbing, which involved the unscrupulous exploitation of the poor, devotion to drink and pleasure, scepticism and scorn of the moral order, indifference to moral distinctions, the introduction into the social order of practices which brought bitterness and darkness, where there should have been sweetness and light. In particular the soul of the country was being sodden with drink. Isaiah gives us a glimpse of the religious leaders themselves brutally intoxicated within the very precincts of the temple, and behaving in the most helplessly filthy way ;[1] and if such were the leaders, is it any wonder that the people followed so alluring a lead—

> Rising early in the morning
> To follow strong drink,
> Tarrying late into the night,
> Till wine inflame them,

carousing till they grew in very truth *blind* drunk—blind to the reality of the unseen, blind to the gravity of the tremendous issues which Jahweh was thrusting upon them in those critical days ?

> But they behold not the doing of Jahweh,
> They see not the work of His hands.[2]

With their bleared eyes they could not *see* the thing He was doing, so He sobers them by summoning His terrible army from afar. He raises His banner as a rendezvous, and whistles—how graphic !—to His foreign warrior-servants at the ends of the earth, and

> See ! hastily, swiftly they come,
> None weary, none stumbling among them.
> The band of their loins never loosed,
> The thong of their shoes never torn.
> Their arrows are sharpened,
> Their bows are all bent,

[1] xxviii. 7f. [2] v. 11f.

The hoofs of their horses are counted as flint,
And their wheels as the whirlwind.
Their roar is like that of the lioness,
And like the young lions they roar,
Thundering, seizing the prey,
And bearing it off to a place of security.[1]

The connexion is only too plain. The Assyrian army, which moves like a living thing through these magnificent lines, is brought to punish the national sins. The injustice of the men and the frivolity of the women, who turn their eyes coquettishly upon the passers-by, as they trip with outstretched neck and mincing step and tinkling anklets along the fashionable streets of Jerusalem[2]—these are the things that provoke those glorious eyes,[3] and compel the Lord of Hosts to uplift His terrible Arm[4] and smite their rotten national life down to its foundations, revealing to them once for all the things that matter. Again and again Isaiah comes back to this thought of the moral meaning of war. Judah he regards as a nation of rebels,[5] a veritable people of Gomorrah led by rulers of Sodom,[6] with whom Jahweh is justly indignant, and the Assyrian is the rod with which He smites the apostates and executes His wrath upon them.

Ho, Assyrian! the rod of mine anger,
And the staff of mine indignation!
I will send him against a profane nation,
And against the people with whom I am angry I will give him a charge,
To take the spoil, and to seize the prey,
And to tread them down like the mire of the streets.[7]

(ii.) But deeper than the function of war as a penalty is its mission as a call. Its divinely intended purpose is that the people "should return unto Him that smote them, and seek Jahweh of Hosts."[8] To some extent this function

[1] v. 26–29. [2] iii. 16. [3] iii. 8.
[4] v. 25. [5] i. 2. [6] i. 10. [7] ix. 5f. [8] ix. 13.

was indeed fulfilled. The desolated country-side, the cities burned with fire, the land devoured by strangers, the capital isolated and invested by the foe, had led her to seek the Lord in bitter earnest and with an almost desperate energy —with a multitude of sacrifices, a superabundance of rams and bullocks and goats, a thronging of the sacred courts with anxious eager feet, a passionate outstretching of the hands in prayer.[1] All this, however, was but a ritual response, and it was a moral response that the holy God demanded; and this moral response is just the very thing which the protracted horrors of war are calculated to elicit. More than most things is the "hail" of war fitted to "sweep away the refuge of lies,"[2]—whether insecure political alliances or a religion composed of ritual and lip-worship[3] —and lay bare the moral foundations of human society.

Isaiah is impressed and saddened, as he enters upon his ministry, by the seemingly impenetrable indifference of the people. The more earnestly he preaches, the more callous and irresponsive do they become, the duller grow their ears, the blinder their eyes, the "fatter" their hearts.[4] Sorrowfully the young prophet asks "How long?" How long is this irresponsiveness to continue? And he gets for answer:

> Until they be wasted,
> Towns without people,
> Houses without men,
> And the ground be left desolate,
> And Jahweh remove men afar,
> And the derelict places be many.[5]

In other words war, if it is only terrible enough—if it crosses our own borders with the gleam of sharp swords and the trail of fire and smoke and desolation—will do more to rouse an apathetic people to a sense of the ultimate

[1] i. 11 ff. [2] xxviii. 17. [3] xxix. 13.
[4] vi. 9 f. [5] vi. 11 f.

Realities than the most winning appeals or the sternest warnings of the preacher. When the people hear Assyrian spoken in the streets of Jerusalem,[1] when the enemy drives home with the point of his bloody sword the lesson Jahweh had commanded him to teach, then perhaps the callousness and the mockery[2] would cease, and Jerusalem would be in a fair way to becoming the City of Righteousness, the Faithful Town.[3]

The True Attitude to War.

It is easy to infer from all this what will be Isaiah's attitude to war. He meets it with the solemn respect due to one of Jahweh's awful ministers, sent to do His pleasure. He faces it with quiet heart, because he believes that it not only does not lie beyond the control of God, but that it is directly contributory to His purpose of rebuking pride, of confronting men with reality, of turning them to Himself. By one who regarded war as drawn within the sweep of the divine purpose, it could be contemplated with as much equanimity as any other and less terrible exhibition of that purpose. On more than one historic occasion, when, under the strain of actual or prospective siege, the hearts of men were quivering as leaves before the wind, the sublime serenity of Isaiah stands out with marvellous distinctness—his is the one steady heart in Jerusalem; and it was these occasions, too, that stirred him to the most trenchant and memorable expressions of his faith. Near the beginning of his ministry, when the coalition of Aram and Israel was threatening Jerusalem, Isaiah went out with his little boy Shear-jashub—man and child alike, by their very names, incarnate gospels, though neither should utter a word—to impart to the anxious Ahaz some of the steadiness that filled his own soul.[4] He begins, "Take

[1] xxviii. 11. [2] xxviii. 9f. [3] i. 26. [4] vii. 1–9.

heed and keep quiet, don't be afraid or faint-hearted. If Aram and Israel have their plans, Jahweh has His "—*He also* is wise, as he says, with superb simplicity, in another place [1]—and he ends with the great words, more barbed and memorable to a Hebrew ear than would seem from our ordinary translations, which carry the secret of all serenity in moments of panic or peril: *No faith, no fixity*, or as Professor Badè has recently rendered them, *No confiding, no abiding*.[2] Trust in God shows itself in the quiet heart; one fruit of faith is peace. *Let not your heart be troubled, believe in God*. It is not for nothing that chapter vii. follows chapter vi. Isaiah began his ministry with a vision of God upon the throne of the universe—the King immortal, invisible, abiding when Uzziah dies, and earthly kings and empires change and pass; and with this steadying vision of the King in his heart, he goes forth with serenity to face his first great crisis in the person of Ahaz, and every other subsequent crisis of his life. He is "established,"[3] because he believes in the unseen: the heart of Ahaz, the mere politician, is disestablished.

Thirty years later, when certain politicians were intriguing for the help of Egypt against Assyria, as Ahaz had schemed for the support of Assyria against Aram and Israel, a similar situation strikes from the prophet that other immortal word, "In quietness and trust shall be your strength."[4] The kaleidoscopic transformations in the politics of the near East did not and could not disquiet the heart that believed that God was on the throne. Just as the wisest general is he who recognises the moral as well as the material factors in his campaign, so the wisest statesman is he who recognises that above and beyond the adroitest balancing of political factors is *One who also is*

[1] xxxi. 2. [2] *The Old Testament in the Light of To-day*, p. 183.
[3] vii. 9. [4] xxx. 15.

wise, who also has His plans and purposes, the God who is the great and everlasting Fact, and whose holy will in every crisis is the thing to be most seriously considered. To leave Him out of the reckoning in political or even military preparations is the most pathetic and fatal of all human follies.

Ye looked to the armour in the House of the Forest,
And ye saw that the breaches in David's city were many;
But ye did not look unto Him who was doing all this,
And Him who fashioned it long ago, ye saw not.[1]

It is this emphasis upon the material and this ignoring of the spiritual order,[2] this jaunty indifference to God which allies itself so naturally with indulgence and frivolity,

Eating flesh and drinking wine:
"Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die"

—it is these things that cause the tears to stream down Isaiah's averted face, and that extort from him this mournful word of doom, "This sin of yours shall never be expiated, until ye die."[3]

But one, like Isaiah, who through all the confusions of history had seen the King and who believed in the triumph of His royal purpose, could face the gravest complications of international politics with something of the serenity of his unseen Lord. Of the great Powers of those days and of these, He was, and is, the greatest Power. In human history He is the great Conspirator:[4] "let Him be your fear, and let Him be your dread." He who fears Him will fear no other. He has His mighty purpose, which embraces the whole world, and which no human power can ultimately thwart or annul.

This is the purpose that is purposed upon the whole earth,
And this is the hand that is stretched out upon all the nations.
For Jahweh of Hosts hath purposed, and who shall annul it?
And his hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back?[5]

[1] xxii. 8–11. [2] xxxi. 3. [3] xxii. 1–14.
[4] viii. 13 reading תקשירו for חקדישו. [5] xiv. 26 f.

Is it any wonder that the man who worshipped such a God should have preserved the steady heart? The majestic confidence with which Isaiah confronts a fateful international issue created by the arrival of Ethiopian ambassadors in Jerusalem is but a reflex of the serenity with which his God contemplates it all. Jahweh and His prophet look quietly on, still as the shimmering heat in sunshine when the glow is intense, or as the high motionless clouds in the heat of harvest [1]—two pictures beautifully suggestive of sublime, unruffled peace.

The heart may well be quiet; the purpose cannot fail, for behind it is God. As the world is resplendent with His glory [2] and the arena of His purpose, so history is nothing but the gradual evolution of that purpose, and every earthly power is but His tool which, willingly or unwillingly, must become contributory to its accomplishment. With his brutal military methods, the Assyrian may proudly work his cruel and terrible will upon the weaker nations of the world, whom he harries as a boy harries a bird's nest; [3] but in reality he is nothing but a tool in Jahweh's hand, an instrument with which His holy omnipotent will is done; [4] and he, too, when he has played his predetermined part, will one day, for his pride and cruelty, be shattered by the Arm that is infinitely mightier than his own.[5] This, then, "is the rest and this the refreshing" [6]—quiet trust in God as the Lord of history.

As a patriot, Isaiah could contemplate the changing fortunes of Israel with all the more equanimity, as he believed that, in spite of her sin, which was to meet with judgment sharp and sure, she yet held a place of transcendent importance in the purpose of God for the world. This belief, expressed with greater emphasis and variety by his

[1] xviii. 4. [2] vi. 3.
[3] x. 14. [4] x. 5. [5] x. 33 f. [6] xxviii. 12.

great anonymous successor in the exile, and amply justified by history, is already firmly held by Isaiah. At that particular stage in the religious education of the world, it was divinely necessary that Jerusalem and all that she stood for should not perish, as Samaria perished in 721 B.C. With the full consciousness that in some unique sense Jahweh of Hosts did indeed dwell in Zion,[1] the prophet strengthened the heart of the despairing Hezekiah, when Assyrian hosts were menacing Jerusalem, by hurling his defiant taunt-song against the proud Sennacherib :

> With scornful laughter Zion's daughter greets thee,
> Thee who hast blasphemed Israel's holy God.
> Proudly thou boastest no land can resist thee ;
> Though all the while thou art but Jahweh's tool,
> Working His ancient purpose on the nations.
> Yea, all thy doings are before mine eyes,
> And for thy rage and insolence I'll tame thee—
> Hook in thy nose and bridle in thy lips—
> And bring thee back the very way thou camest.[2]

For the time being Zion, all unworthy as she was, was spared ; and the work Isaiah had once hoped she would have done in her corporate capacity as a " city of righteousness, a faithful town," is now to be done within her walls by a few elect souls—men like Isaiah himself—who put character and faith before all things else in the world. They are the sure and precious stone on which the community of the future may be securely founded ;[3] and when, in the passing of the years, the doom of political extinction fell upon Israel, it was these men—the disciples and successors of Isaiah—and not the scoffing politicians " that rule this people "[4]—who gave her her imperishable place in the annals of human history. The earthly kingdom passed, but these men founded the heavenly Jerusalem, who is the mother of us all.

[1] viii. 18. [2] xxxvii. 22–29.
[3] xxviii. 16. [4] xxviii. 14.

Peace.

Though, in the Providence of God, war may have an educative and even a redemptive purpose, the ideal of human society must be peace. War may be inevitable "because of the hardness of your hearts," but it belongs to those things which are to pass in the latter days. According to an oracle which, whether Isaiah's or not, unquestionably represents his spirit, "it shall come to pass in the issue of the days, that nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." [1] Nations which have disputes to settle, instead of appealing to the arbitrament of sword and spear, are represented as resorting to Jerusalem, and as securing there a decision so just and satisfactory to all that they immediately and permanently disarm. This consummation presupposes a world of reasonable and religious men, willing to submit their disputes to the arbitration of an impartial tribunal. It is worth noting that the city which in this oracle is accorded the high honour of dispensing international justice is a city which has already secured justice for all the citizens within her own walls. There is no more exploitation of the poor, indeed there will be no poor to exploit, but she will be in truth the "City of Righteousness, the Faithful Town." [2] A nation which professes to be eager to see justice done abroad in the great world must be willing to do it and to see it done at home.

But to come back—the ideal is one of peace. The Prince of the latter days, whose second name is *Hero of Superhuman Might*, bears as His final name *The Prince of Peace*.[3] The true patriot longs for the day when no more war-horses and chariots [4] will be seen in the land he loves, but when from end to end it will be filled with the knowledge of Jahweh as the waters cover the sea.[5] One of the dearest

[1] ii. 1–4. [2] i. 26. [3] ix. 5 (E. V. 6). [4] ii. 7. [5] xi. 9.

wishes of his heart is to see the cruel and bloody accoutrements of war flung once and for ever into the devouring flames. He looks for and believingly works for the day when

> Every boot of the warrior that thundered along,
> And every garment rolled in blood,
> Shall be doomed to the burning,
> And fuel for the fire.[1]

JOHN E. MCFADYEN.

WHO SENT APOLLOS TO CORINTH?

APOLLOS is one of the most interesting and at the same time one of the most elusive figures among the first group of apostles to the Gentiles. How little we really know about him! Yet as a personality he ranked with Paul himself: at Corinth, at all events, he was one of a triad of nucleating centres (or, if we prefer it, centres of disruption), for the key-note with which the first epistle to the Corinthians opens is, 'Paul, Apollos and Cephas,' to whom, perhaps ironically, but not without a basis in fact, the Apostle adds Christ's own name, for do not some say "I am Christ's"?: and that this last grouping was a classification meant exclusively as well as inclusively, designed to leave the other possible groups out, seems clear from St. Paul's appeal to his critics and antagonists to consider that "if they are Christ's, we also are Christ's" (2 Cor. x. 7).

No one can read the epistles to the Corinthians carefully without observing the shadow of Apollos which is cast upon them. St. Paul is his brother in the divine husbandry and affirms his unity with him (1 Cor. iii. 8), but he is rightly careful to maintain his own priority as a founder of the Church at Corinth, under the figure of the one that plants and the other that waters (1 Cor. iii. 6); it is the

[1] ix. 4 (E. V. 5).

same apostolic self-assertion which underlies the expression, "Though you were to have many παιδαγωγοὶ in Christ, you cannot have many fathers" (1 Cor. iv. 15), which is much as if he had said,

παιδαγωγὸς Ἀπολλώς, πατὴρ δ' ἐγώ,

for he is not alluding to any shadowy tutors in the Church, but to the actual ones around whom the Church at Corinth was gathered, a company amongst which Apollos was almost certainly the leading figure.

It seems indeed, as if, for all his friendliness and declarations of unity, Paul was on his guard against Apollos and was putting the Corinthians also on their guard; for he follows up the statement of his own wise building, in laying Jesus Christ as the foundation stone of his preaching, with words of warning to the one that builds the next course after the foundation, the παιδαγωγὸς who comes next to the father: "By the grace of God given to me, I have laid the foundation; another is building upon it" (1 Cor. iii. 10), where I am almost tempted to make a conjectural emendation in the text and read Ἀπολλώς for ἄλλος (i.e. *Apollos* is building upon it: ἐποικοδομεῖ in ii. 10 answering to ποτίζει in ii. 6. Certainly Apollos is the person meant; and the words of warning which follow, that *each* should look carefully to his building, reflect the language of the fifth verse, that Paul and Apollos are "ministers by whom ye believed *as God gave to each of us.*" He is not speaking of Cephas as the builder who succeeds him in his first church architecture. The triad, for the purposes of the epistle, reduces to a pair.

In any case, we cannot understand or interpret the Corinthian correspondence without seeing Apollos in the background; yet how little is really said about him in the Acts, from which we can make a historical portrait! He is a shadowy man with a shadowy religious history; he

comes into the Christian Church from a shadowy non-Christian church, of which we find traces in the Acts, the Church which was perpetuating the tradition and teaching of John the Baptist; he does not come before us with a conversion to tell of, like St. Paul, but as the subject of an illumination, mediated by the teaching of Aquila and Priscilla, another pair of primitive Christian Apostles, whom St. Luke makes almost as shadowy as Apollos himself, not from want of sympathy, but perhaps because he found, as he proceeded with his Acts of the Apostles, that, whether he meant it or not, he was writing a biography of a single person.

The question, then, is forced upon us by the very language of St. Paul in the first epistle to the Corinthians, and its underlying hesitancy with regard to the trustworthiness of Apollos and his following, as to the person or party that was responsible, in the first instance, for the introduction of Apollos to Corinth. There is not a tittle of evidence that would make Paul answerable for the transfer of Apollos from Ephesus to Corinth. Indeed, Apollos does not accept Paul's instructions. At the close of the Epistle (1 Cor. xvi. 12) we have disclosed to us the fact that Paul had been trying to persuade Apollos to go on some mission to Corinth along with certain nameless brethren, and had failed in his attempt: Apollos said he had no intention of visiting Corinth at that time, which probably means "in that company," but he would choose his own opportunity for such a visit. Apollos may have been cordial to Paul, he certainly was not subservient. But if we concede his apostolic independence, and I do not see how it can be denied, we are thrown back again upon the enquiry, "When Apollos first came to Corinth, who sent him there?"

To this enquiry, I suppose that the ordinary reply would be that he was deputed by the Ephesian Church, and furnished with credentials by them. Luke tells us that Apollos

formed a determination to visit Corinth on a religious mission, "to pass into Achaia" as Luke puts it, and that, in harmony with this intention,

> "the brethren wrote and advised the disciples to receive him" (Acts xviii. 27).

Something of the nature of a religious revival took place: those who had already accepted the Gospel of Grace were much helped, and an aggressive campaign was carried on against the Jews, presumably in the Synagogue. Who are the brethren that constitute the link in the chain of Apollos' movements? To say that they were Ephesian believers is hardly adequate: letters of credential at that time in the Church's development would have been issued in the name of the Church-leaders, or of persons in authority, who were recognised as acting for those who were the Church-leaders. Thus the circular issued by the Church at Jerusalem, which we know by the name of "Jerusalem concordat" is issued in the name of the "apostles and elder-brethren." If such a letter had been issued in the name of Paul, it is very improbable that neither Luke nor Paul would have alluded to it: either the Acts of the Apostles or the First Epistle to the Corinthians would have disclosed the fact. St. Luke merely says, "the brethren wrote." So we have to repeat our question as to the people who went bond for Apollos and his teaching to the Corinthians. In order to answer the question, let us scrutinise the text a little more closely. When we do so, we find that, to all appearances, we are not the first persons to ask the question. We turn to the Western text of the Acts, and find, in place of the conventional account in ch. xviii. 27 about the brethren who wrote recommending Apollos to the Corinthians, the following luminous suggestion as to what may have taken place:

"There were certain Corinthians sojourning in Ephesus who heard Apollos speak, and begged him to cross over

with them to their own city ; and when he had intimated his consent, the Ephesians wrote to the brethren in Corinth to receive the man, etc."

I have said that this is luminous, for it adds a missing fact to the story, viz. : the part played by certain Corinthian Christians who happened to be residing in Ephesus : at the same time it is also obscure. Does it mean that the Ephesians who wrote the commendations are the same as the Corinthians ? Apparently not, for the Corinthians, though residents in Ephesus, were intending to take Apollos into Achaia with them, and would therefore seem to be distinguished from the Ephesians who commended him. There arises, also, a further question : namely, whether this Western reading is an expositor's gloss or a genuine tradition. It has the appearance of verisimilitude, like so many of the so-called Western glosses in the Acts. If it is not true, why was it invented ? The difficulty of determining the brethren who sent Apollos is not really removed by saying that some Corinthians went with him, and indeed if the Corinthians went with him, what need of a commendatory epistle ? they could have introduced him without one. So one's first instinct, unless we are actuated by a prevalent hostility to every reading that bears the name of Western, is to say that it looks like genuine history, but that even if it is so, it does not solve the problem of the commending " brethren," but leaves it where it was, with the insufficient adjective " Ephesians," which was, in fact, already implied in the ordinary text. We must, therefore, examine our texts more closely, if we are to get further information.

Now the narrative in Acts runs like this :

" Priscilla and Aquila took Apollos in hand, and taught him the Way of God more correctly than he at that time knew it. And when he was disposed to cross over into Achaia, the brethren wrote, etc."

Here the natural antecedent to the brethren (if an antecedent were necessary or desirable) would be "Aquila and Priscilla"; and if we could assume that the pair of teachers in question were covered by the term *οἱ ἀδελφοί* (the Brethren, with a capital letter, shall we say?), then the sequence would be that it was Aquila and Priscilla who wrote the letters of commendation which Apollos took to Corinth with him: and as the pair had actually come to Ephesus from Corinth, nothing was more natural or reasonable than that such letters should come from such hands. Let us, then, see if we can confirm in any way this, at first sight, improbable hypothesis. Could Luke have called Priscilla and Aquila collectively by the name of brethren, or of the Brethren? Is there any evidence that they were so called?

In the first place, there is no difficulty in covering a pair of persons, of opposite sexes, by a common title in the masculine. For example, Origen, near the close of his discourse on Prayer, calls the persons to whom he is dedicating his treatise, by the names of

γνησιώτατοι ἐν θεοσεβείᾳ ἀδελφοί,
Ἀμβρόσιε καὶ Ταταινή.

The Greek usage is evident: Ambrose and Tatiana are collectively "brethren"; there is nothing to forbid a similar appellation of Aquila and Priscilla.

In a recent number of the EXPOSITOR[1] Dr. Souter has pointed out a number of usages (where a masculine plural covers a masculine and a feminine), both in Greek and Latin: here is one from the *Electra* of Euripides: Electra is arguing that the footmark of her brother cannot possibly be the same as hers, for man's foot is larger than woman's; the footprint of two brethren, man and woman, cannot be the same.

δυοῖν ἀδελφοῖν ποῦς ἂν οὐ γένοιτ' ἴσος
ἀνδρός τε καὶ γυναικός, ἀλλ' ἄρσην κρατεῖ,

[1] Jan., 1915.

There is, therefore, no *a priori* reason against naming a Christian pair of Apostles spiritually by the title of οἱ ἀδελφοί; it is conceded that they were separately a brother and a sister in the faith: then unitedly they were brethren. It is unfortunate that the Greek dual, which would here have been illuminating, is an extinct form. A similar case would be the appellation of ἀδελφοὶ θεοὶ given to the reigning Ptolemy and his consort in Egypt: e.g. in the Decree of Canopus, the opening words are as follows:

> In the reign of Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy and Arsinoë, the Brother Gods:

and in a number of similar cases.

The objection may at once be made that in the sentence quoted from Origen, and in the one which is given to illustrate Egyptian usage for the King and Queen, the names are actually given so that no misunderstanding can be possible: but that it is quite another thing to interpret a detached term "Brethren" as a pair, comprising a brother and a sister (or wife). One answer to this would be to point out that the term "Brethren" in Acts xviii. is not really detached; it is sufficiently close to "Aquila and Priscilla" to be covered and explained by them. Another explanation, at first sight not nearly so likely, is that perhaps the term "Brethren" or "the Brethren," in the sense of "the Brother and Sister," had actually become conventional for Aquila and Priscilla in the Churches of the Aegean littoral.

We may easily satisfy ourselves, then, that it is a natural Greek usage, to interpret ἀδελφοί as a male and female pair.

In the next place, the hypothesis helps us to explain another important passage in 1 Corinthians xvi., whose obscurity is real, though not always recognised. We have already alluded to a proposal by Paul to send Apollos to Corinth with certain anonymous brethren, a suggestion which Apollos

declined. The passage runs as follows, after an injunction to treat Timothy well, if he should come their way :

> Send Timothy on to me in peace, for *I and the brethren* are waiting for him here (in Ephesus).[1]
>
> And as for Apollos our brother, I begged him much to come to you with *the brethren ;* but he was not at all disposed to do so at present " (1 Cor. xvi. 11, 12).

Now who are these mysterious anonymous brethren in the *entourage* of Paul, and engaged with him in planning an expedition to Corinth, in which they desire Apollos' company. We look a few verses lower, and find the only persons, who are named as sending greetings to Corinth, are Aquila and Prisca : " Aquila and Prisca greet you very warmly in the Lord " (1 Cor. xvi. 19).

It is reasonable, then, (though, of course, other explanations may be made [2]) to identify the Brethren in the previous verses with Aquila and Priscilla ; they were actually at Paul's elbow when he was writing. We should thus (*a*) recover the popular title by which Aquila and Priscilla were known in the Ephesian and Corinthian Churches ; (*b*) we should find out who gave Apollos his credentials for his first Corinthian mission, who are certainly the very people who ought to have accredited him ; and (*c*) we shall find St. Paul using the very same popular expression for the " pair " in the First Epistle to the Corinthians as Luke does in the Acts ; and (*d*) it looks as if the Western Text had misunderstood the title " The Brethren " and made a false explanation of its own with regard to them by substituting Ephesian Christians for them : this is not, however, quite certain. One further point inevitably comes

[1] It seems clear that this is the meaning, and not " I am expecting him to come here in company with the brethren," for Timothy's movements are hypothetical and uncertain, and therefore the brethren cannot be specified.

[2] As, for example, that the brethren in question were Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus.

up as a pendant to the foregoing hypothesis. There is in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (2 Cor. iii. 1) an allusion, almost contemptuous, to persons who have had letters of commendation from outside sources to the Corinthian Church. It is natural to suspect an allusion to the credentials which Apollos presented on his first visit to Corinth. If these letters were given by Aquila and Priscilla, the suggestion of derived authority in Apollos' teaching is piquant enough, and something more than playful.

RENDEL HARRIS.

THE SERVANT OF THE LORD IN ISAIAH XL. ff.

I.

IT would be vain to try to give within the compass of an article, let us not say a criticism, but even a simple account sufficiently full and lucid of the many opinions which have been set forth and still are in vogue concerning the identification of the great figure of the Servant of the Lord, which occurs in several passages of the second part of the book of Isaiah. It will rather be my main purpose, in the following pages, to determine the conditions or the terms in which it seems to me that the problem should be proposed, and to point out certain important conclusions which immediately flow from such a statement of the question.

The conditions to which I allude relate chiefly to the order in which the elements that enter into the composition of chapters xl.–lxvi. of Isaiah should be read. All agree that in more than one place the text has been subject to dislocation. Possibly some fresh observations are to be suggested in that direction.[1] Possibly, also, we might

[1] For want of space I could not always, in the present article, justify every view expressed on the connexion of texts. But I trust that the reader who will examine the cases for himself will without difficulty recognise the supposed grounds.

reach greater certainty as to the proper, primitive connexion of some most interesting passages.

Critics state that with chapter lvi. a new section begins. But at the same time the remark has been made that the three chapters lx.–lxii. have the same object (viz., the glorification of Sion), and are written in exactly the same dithyrambic style, and with the same genuine lyric vigour, as chapters liv.–lv. It appears to us most probable indeed that chapter lv. is continued by chapters lx.–lxii. The last section thus would consist of lvi.–lix.+lxiii.–lxvi. It contains exhortations to observe the Law strictly, with promise of reward even for strangers and eunuchs (lvi.); reproofs for idolatrous and superstitious practices (lvii., lxv.); moral lessons on the insufficiency of merely external rites, such as fasting (lviii.), and on the necessity of repentance (lix.); threats or statements of punishment against the enemies of Israel such as Edom (lxiii. 1 ff.), or against unfaithful Israelites (lxv. 11 ff.); supplications and solemn declarations of repentance (lxiv.), etc. On the other hand, praises of the providence of Jahveh in the past (lxiii. 7 ff.), or promises of salvation to the people (lvii. 13; lviii. 20 ff.; lxv. 8 ff.; lxvi. 6 ff.) are not lacking.

The question whether this last section should be, wholly or in part, ascribed to an author (or to authors ?) different from the author (or the authors ?) of the preceding chapters, is not to be discussed here. To determine the date of origin of each particular saying by the investigation of the only possible circumstance in history to which it could be related, would be a very interesting task if it was a possible one, which, seeing the information about the facts of history conveyed to us by the existing documents, unfortunately it is not. For our present purpose it is of more importance to state that in any case chapters lvi.–lix.+lxiii.–lxvi. were composed as a supplement or an

appendix to the discourses in chapters xl. ff. So much may be inferred from the fact that characteristic images and phrases which appear in the latter recur in the section under consideration. Compare, for instance, lvii. 14: "Cast up a highway, cast up! prepare a way, take up (every) stumblingblock out of the way of my people," with xl. 3 and lxii. 10 f. (coll. xl. 10); lix. 1–2: "Behold, the Lord's hand is not shortened . . . ; but your iniquities have separated between you and your God . . ." with l. 1–2: ". . . Behold, for your iniquities have ye sold yourselves. . . . Is my hand shortened?"[1] lix. 16 with xli. 28; lxv. 12 and lxvi. 4 with l. 2; lxvi. 8 with liv. 1; lxvi. 11 with lx. 16, etc. In a more general way influence of chapters xl. ff. may be recognised in such passages as lxiv. 10: "Thy holy cities are a wilderness . . ."; or lix. 20: "And a Redeemer shall come to Sion . . ."; lxv. 1–2 reminds one of xliii. 22 ff.

In the last section no mention is made of the "Servant of Jahveh" in the singular. But several times the appellation "servants" of the Lord in the plural occurs there as signifying the faithful among the people: lvi. 6; lxiii. 17; lxv. 9, 13 ff. On account of the other similarities just mentioned one seems to be justified in recognising also in that appellation some literary connexion with the epithet or the title "Servant of Jahveh" occurring in chapter xl. ff. Such an affinity would appear distinctly in lxv. 9, where "my servants" answer the parallel term "my elect," as is often the case with "the Servant" in xl. ff.:

. . . . . .
and mine elect shall inherit it,
and my servants shall dwell there.

However, as any one perceives, the section consisting of

[1] The phrase, "your iniquities *have separated* between you and your God," probably points to the image of the *divorcement* made use of in the first part of l. 1.

chapters lvi.–lix.+lxiii.–lxvi. presents at the utmost only a very indirect concern with the subject of our inquiry. It is in chapters xl.–lv.+lx.–lxii. that we meet several times, though in very different conditions, with the mention of the "Servant of Jahveh."

As regards the subject treated, these chapters xl.–lv.+lx.–lxii. are not to be held as a literary unit of absolute simplicity. Their complex, as a whole, falls into two parts which, though hanging together with one another much more closely than either of them with the last section spoken of above, are marked by distinctly characteristic features. The first part begins with chapter xl.; the second with chapter xlix. Before we come to setting forward the traits proper to each part, some important remarks are again to be made concerning the order of the texts. How it happened that such or such a passage was torn out of its proper context to be inserted in a wrong place cannot, in any particular case, be accounted for with certainty. The difficulty of explaining the process is, as a rule, apt to appear greater in the case of single sentences or small texts than in that of passages of a larger extent. For the latter, apart from any intentional interference, an accidental displacement of a leaf in an old manuscript or an inversion between paragraphs owing to an inappropriate joining or readjusting of parts or scraps of papyrus rolls, may often be alleged as the supposed cause of the disorder. When the question is about some short text, such an assumption would obviously be out of place. Perhaps we might hold it possible, in cases of that sort, that fragments supplied on the margin of a manuscript as having been omitted by the scribe from whom that manuscript originated, wandered for some time in later copies along the margin and were at last, by more careless or ignorant copy-

ists, inserted in places where they did not belong. It may have happened also that the passage written in the margin had been transcribed from another place, as a gloss or for any other purpose of reference (comp., for instance, Isa. xxxv. 10 and li. 11); and that afterwards, when it had entered from the margin into the adjoining text, it was omitted in its right and original place as a doublet. Thus Isaiah xxxv. 10 might have been dropped on account of its recurrence in li. 11.

The first part of Isaiah xl. ff. opens with the good tidings of impending deliverance of the people from the captivity (xl. 1–11). It is Jahveh, the Almighty God, who shall accomplish that work (12–16). Before Him the nations are nothing, the idols are vain things made by the hands of men (17–19 . . .). Here already the scene of the workmen fabricating the images of gods is in the opinion of many to be completed by the two verses xli. 6–7. Then the discourse goes on: Jahveh alone is great and Lord of the world; Jacob-Israel has to confide in Him (xl. 20–31). In order to assert His absolute pre-eminence over the false gods, Jahveh challenges the heathen nations to a contest: let them come before Him! He claims for Himself alone the honour of having raised up the conqueror who is now subduing peoples and kings (xli. 1–4). In verse 5 we see "the isles and the ends of the earth," which had been summoned to appear, approach with trembling for the judgment. The immediate sequel to this passage is found in verses 21 ff.: Jahveh addresses the gods of the heathen nations assembled before Him and urges them to lay down their claims. . . . But they are all nothing! None of them ever predicted or ordained any of the "former things," nor can they announce the "things that are to come": Jahveh was the first to proclaim the good tidings of impending deliverance (xli. 21–27). Confounded by Jahveh's

pleading His adversaries by that time have vanished (28–29). Now the divine warning turns towards His people; the passage 8–20 is to be read in this place: "But thou Israel my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen . . . fear thou not! . . ." Israel's confidence shall not be shamed; His God will accomplish wonderful things for him! . . .

Now we come to a point of the greatest importance. The discourse is interrupted here by the famous passage xlii. 1–7. It may be said to be quite evident that the pleading against the nations and their idols and the exhortations addressed to Israel in xli. 8–27 have their immediate conclusion in xlii. 8–9:

> I am Jahveh, that is my name!
> and my glory will I not give to another,
> neither my praise to graven images.
> Behold the former things are come to pass
> and new things do I declare:
> before they spring forth I tell you of them.

The "new things," or the things coming, here as everywhere else in chapters xl.–xlviii.,[1] are the mission of Cyrus to Jahveh's people and the restoration of Israel. Cyrus' work of deliverance it was that Jahveh had just announced in . . . xli. 1–4, 25–27, proclaiming at the same time the impotence of the false gods "to whom He will not give His glory." The praise of the "Servant of Jahveh" and the declaration of his mission (xlii. 1–7) have wrongly been brought in here, before xlii. 8–9. We shall see presently that the proper place of this passage may be without great difficulty recognised in the second part beginning with chapter xlix.

One last remark concerning the first part is that after the lyric outburst which follows, in xlii. 10–17, on the discourse just analysed, the reproofs of xlii. 18 ff. occur, so at least it seems to us, far too abruptly:

[1] xli. 22–23; xliii. 9, 18–19; xlv. 11 f.; xlvi. 9–11; xlviii. 3 ff.

Hear, ye deaf; and look, ye blind, that you may see!
Who is blind but my servant? . . .

One would have expected a transition or an introduction of some kind to this rebuke, which indeed is only in an accidental or artificial way connected with the preceding text, "the blind" in verse 16 being regarded as the object, not of divine anger or displeasure, but of pity. Perhaps the exordium of these reproachful words is to be found in chapter l. 1–3. It is obvious that chapter l. offers a congeries of stray fragments having no connexion with the surrounding context and severing the discourse of chapter xlix. from its natural conclusion li. 1–3. The three first verses of that chapter l. in particular stand quite isolated:

Thus saith Jahveh:
Where is the bill of your mother's divorcement, whom I have put away?
Or which of my creditors is it to whom I have sold you?
Behold for your iniquities have you been sold,
and for your transgressions is your mother put away.
Wherefore when I came was there no man?
when I called was there none to answer?
Is my hand shortened at all, that it could not redeem?
or have I no power to deliver?
Behold at my rebuke I dry up the sea,
I make the rivers a wilderness. . . .
I clothe the heavens with blackness
and I make sackcloth their covering.

This complaint in which, quite in tune with the general strain of xl.–xlviii., Jahveh reminds His people of *His past messages* and of *His mighty works*, both of which remained unheeded, would form a most fitting introduction to the appeal of xlii. 8: "Hear, ye deaf; and look, ye blind! . . ."

We do not insist on some inversions of texts of minor importance in chapters xl.–xlviii., as for instance xlvi. 1–2, to be read probably at the end of chapter xlvii. as a conclusion to the satire on the downfall of Babylon, and turn now our attention to the second part, chapter xlix. ff.

In chapter xlix. ff. we reach the proper field for our study of the figure of the "Servant of the Lord." It is "the Servant" who forms the dominating subject of the whole exposition, as Cyrus did in the first part.

Chapter xlix. opens with a soliloquy of the Servant, introducing himself and describing the mission to which he was destined from the womb of his mother.

Here we notice first of all that a verse belonging to that discourse has gone astray as far as li. 16. This verse, as the reader may perceive at a glance, stands certainly out of its proper place. The context in chapter li. consists of consolations and promises addressed *to Sion-Jerusalem*; whereas in verse 16 *a different subject* (person) is addressed, namely, one who is entrusted with the commission to say *to Sion*: Thou art my people! Nor is it very difficult to discover the right place to which li. 16 belongs. As appears from its contents, it must have been part of an act of investiture of "the Servant" by Jahveh. Now in chapter xlix. 1 ff. the Servant reports how Jahveh called him and invested him with his mission from his mother's womb. The report of the act of investiture in its present form is exceedingly short and abrupt, so as to be very happily completed by li. 16:

xlix. 1. Listen, O isles, unto me . . .
The Lord hath called me from the womb,
from the bowels of my mother hath he made mention of my name.
2. And he hath made my mouth like a sharp sword,
in the shadow of *his sheath* [1] he hid me;
he made me a polished arrow,
in his quiver he concealed me;
3. and he said unto me: "Thou art my Servant,[2]
in thee I will be glorified!
li. 16. I have put my words in thy mouth,
and have covered thee in the shadow of my hand

[1] Read נדנו instead of ידו (in the shadow of *his hand*).
[2] *Israel* = a gloss. See below.

to plant the heavens [1] and lay the foundations of the earth,
and say unto Sion: Thou art my people!"
xlix. 4. Then I said: I have laboured in vain, . . . etc.

Besides the natural connexion of li. 16 with xlix. 3 as a most appropriate development of the general announcement of glorification, one has to consider also the recurrence of the metaphor of the *shadow* (צל) in xlix. 2 and li. 16*b*; it may be very well that the *shadow of the hand* of li. 16 was, owing to contextual influence, the occasion why the original *shadow of the sheath* (?) in xlix. 2 was replaced by that same *shadow of the hand*.

There is something more. We have mentioned the fact that chapter l. is a congeries of disjointed fragments. One of these fragments, verses 4–9, is an abrupt passage of a soliloquy in which the Servant is speaking of himself as in xlix. 1 ff.; and it happens that the fragment finds an exactly appropriate place in this opening discourse of xlix. before verse 7; or perhaps between verses 7 and 8, thus filling up the gap noticed by Condamin:

l. (4 ff.) . . . 7. For the Lord God *will help me*,
therefore shall I not be confounded. . . .
9. Behold the Lord Jahveh *will help me*,
who is it that shall condemn me? . . .
xlix. . . . 8. Thus saith Jahveh: In an acceptable time I have heard thee,
and in a day of salvation *have I helped thee*,
and I will preserve thee. . . . etc.

Jahveh's announcement that He has helped His Servant offers an idea in close touch with l. 7–9, while on the other

[1] The interpretation . . . *that I may* plant the heavens, etc., would lead to the incongruous statement: I have put my words in thy mouth . . . that *I may say unto Sion*: Thou art my people! It is, of course, the subject in whose mouth the Lord has put His words, who is to say in the Lord's name unto Sion: Thou art my people! Jahveh saying: "*I have put my words in thy mouth*," plainly signifies that He has entrusted the person addressed with a mission to discharge as His representative; and the object of that mission is described in the second part of the verse . . . לִנְטֹעַ = *to plant the heavens*, etc.

hand the Servant's affirmation of his endurance under the severest ill-treatment (l. 5–6) answers to the description of him as the one "whom man despiseth, whom the nation abhorreth," in xlix. 7.

Verse 10 [1] in that same chapter l. is an invitation *to listen to the voice of the Servant*, which would quite naturally come to stand as an introduction to the discourse li. 4 ff., from which it is separated by li. 1–3, the concluding part of chapter xlix.:

l. 10. Who is among you that feareth Jahveh,
let him obey [2] the voice of his Servant. . . .
li. 4. Hearken unto me, my people,
and give ear unto me, my nation;
for a Law shall proceed from me
and I will make my judgment shine [3] as a light of the people. . .

The subject from whom *a Law* is going to proceed and whose judgment is *a light* of the people, is no other than "the Servant" (cp. xlii. 1–7).

Some other such remarks on the condition of our text might be suggested. We do not see in particular how xlviii. 21 can possibly be maintained in its present place, whereas it would yield a perfect sense after li. 10 as a substitute for li. 11, which is a repetition (quite unsuitable here) of xxxv. 10.

But it would be out of place here to insist further on guesses of this kind. Of greater importance for our inquiry concerning the figure of the Servant of Jahveh is the question how to determine the context to which the famous passage xlii. 1–7 did originally belong.

[1] Critics simply strike out ver. 10 along with ver. 11. But the case of both verses is not the same. Ver. 11, unintelligible indeed in this connexion, reminds one rather of passages like lxv. 12 or lxvi. 16, 17.

[2] יִשְׁמַע (parallel to יִבְטַח in the following sentence) instead of שֹׁמֵעַ. But even if one prefers to maintain the participle שֹׁמֵעַ the purpose and function of the verse would remain the same.

[3] אוֹפִיעַ (?) instead of אַרְגִּיעַ.

Condamin has urged very strongly the necessity of transposing xlii. 1 ff. from its present place to the section of the book beginning with chapter xlix. But along with verses 1–7 he tore off verses 8–9, which, as we have pointed out, must be maintained as closely connected with the discourse in chapter xli. Then Condamin proposed to insert xlii. 1–9 into the *soliloquy of the Servant* xlix. 1 ff., between verses 7 and 8, whereas we hope to have made it sufficiently clear that the alleged gap between these two verses is quite suitably filled up by the abrupt fragment of a *soliloquy of the Servant* in l. 4–9.

As regards the literary form of the composition, in xlii. 1–7 *it is Jahveh who speaks in the first person* introducing His Servant, whose eulogy He proclaims and whose mission and success He announces: "Behold my Servant whom I uphold. . . ." Now there is one other passage in which *Jahveh is the speaker* introducing His Servant, and which, moreover, from the construction of its opening sentence appears to have been originally part of a longer poem. That passage is lii. 13–15: "Behold, he shall deal prudently, my Servant. . . .": הנה ישכיל עבדי. The fact that the subject עבדי in this passage follows the verb, the behaviour or the destiny of the Servant, not the Servant himself, being put into prominence, conveys the impression that those three verses form the continuation of a preceding discourse of praise,—that in a preceding context the Servant had been already mentioned. If we read xlii. 1–7 just before lii. 13–15, these two fragments coalesce quite naturally into one divine address, to which chapter liii. 1 ff. answers as a perfectly proportionate response of the "many" spoken of in lii. 14–15.

II.

We may at this point determine the precise object and the characteristic traits of each of the two first parts of *Isaiah* xl. ff.

In the first part, xl.–xlviii., Jahveh announces the imminent deliverance of the captive people. This deliverance shall be the result of the triumph of *Cyrus* and of the downfall of Babylon. Jahveh alone is the principal author of that work; He alone employs Cyrus as His agent; the false gods had never the least concern in it all. Proof of it is that Jahveh alone always directed His people in the past, foretelling the events, "the former things," which never failed to happen as He predicted them; and that He alone also announces "the new things" which are going to happen erelong. Israel, His servant, who so often has been unfaithful to Him, whom He was obliged to punish, must confide in Him and keep clear of all compromise with the idols. From Jahveh, his King, he has to expect his own salvation and the humiliation of proud Babylon.

In the second part, xlix.–lv.+lx.–lxii., the prophet proclaims, all along with the restoration of Israel which is close at hand, the glorious destiny of Sion in the future. It is *the Servant of Jahveh* who shall be, in the fulfilment of those magnificent promises, the instrument of the Almighty God. The Servant will be not only the restorer of Sion. The revival of Jerusalem will be but the preliminary part of his work. Through his achievements shall Jerusalem, vested in splendour, become the mistress of nations, the light illuminating the world (xlix. 22–23; liv. 1 ff., 11 ff.; lx. 1 ff.). From him shall a Law go out to the Gentiles; he will extend its blessings to the extremities of the earth; the isles shall be eager to receive his doctrine. Kings and nations shall he subdue, not by strength of arms, but by

his moral power and through the basest humiliations and ill-treatments. By his sufferings and his death will he accomplish universal redemption.

It is to be carefully noticed that the division of Isaiah xl.–lv.+lx.–lxii. into the two parts just analysed may be easily recognised apart from the transposition of xlii. 1–7. Only in chapters xl.–xlviii. do we see on the scene the figure of Cyrus clearly alluded to or explicitly named (xli. 2 ff., 25; xliv. 28; xlv. 1 ff., 13; xlvi. 11; xlviii. 14).[1] In these chapters, xl.–xlviii., only does the prophet insist repeatedly on the distinct categories of "the former things" or events of the past, which Jahveh has announced beforehand, and "the new things" or "things to come" which He announces to-day (xli. 21–23; xlii. 8–9; xliii. 9, 18–19; xlv. 11 ff.; xlvi. 9 ff.; xlviii. 3–8): "the new things" or "things to come" are always understood of the salvation to be brought about by Cyrus; a remark which yields strong support for the view that xlii. 8–9 cannot have followed immediately, in the primitive text, on 1–7. In the first part the people of Jahveh, when addressed in the second person singular, is called Israel-Jacob (xl. 27 ff.; xli. 8 ff., 14 ff.; xliii. 1 ff., 22 ff.; xliv. 1 ff., 21 ff.; xlvi. 3; xlviii. 1, 4 ff., 12), never Sion-Jerusalem; from chapter xlix. onward, the people, when addressed in the second person singular, is called constantly Sion-Jerusalem (xlix. 15 ff., 22 ff.; li. 12, 17 ff., 21 ff.; lii. 1, 2, 7 f.; liv. 1 ff.; lx. 1 ff.; lxii. 2 ff., 6), never Israel-Jacob. In the first part alone the title "servant of Jahveh" is coupled as an epithet with the name of Israel or given to the actual, historical people (xli. 8 ff.; xlii. 19; xliii. 10; xliv. 1–2, 21; xlv. 4; xlviii. 20), whereas in the second part the same title is exclusively

[1] That in lxi. 1 ff. Cyrus is the speaker we cannot consider to be probable at all. See below.

used to describe an ideal figure [1]; a consideration again which, without any *petitio principii*, strongly supports the proposed transposition of xlii. 1–7 to the second part: the harmony of the whole as well as the exigency of the immediate context demanding this displacement.

The part beginning with chapter xlix. presents itself to us as a double series of exhortations or invitations directed by the Servant to the people, and of praises addressed to the Servant or descriptions of his mission, in the fulfilment of which he will be sustained by Jahveh; these exhortations and praises being followed each time by the most brilliant promises and congratulations to Sion. The so-called *Ebed Jahveh-Lieder*, far from being independent poems, inserted more or less arbitrarily in the book of Deutero-Isaiah, as many students inferred from the fact that xlii. 1–7, l. 4–9 have no connexion with their present context, form an organic, and indeed the fundamental part of the discourses of which Isaiah xlix. ff. consist. Nor can there be any doubt that the subject considered is the same throughout these *Ebed*-passages, which, in fact, are closely connected together.

1. In the first place the Servant, speaking himself,

[1] As has been noticed before, the name *Israel* in the vocative xlix. 3 is to be considered, and is indeed held generally, as a gloss. The subject addressed, whoever he may be, is explicitly characterised here as bearing the title of "Jahveh's Servant" as *his proper name*, which he is said to have received from his mother's womb. The appellation *Israel* manifestly weakens or entirely ruins the meaning of the phrase: "thou art my Servant" as a declaration of the proper name in view (xlix. 1). The tendency towards uniform identification of the "Servant" with "Israel" among Jews, to which we owe the gloss in xlix. 3, is to be traced further in the LXX version xlii. 1, where both names Ἰακὼβ, Ἰσραὴλ have been inserted. That the name by which the subject addressed was "called from his mother's womb" (xlix. 1) is supposed to be that of "Jahveh's Servant," not that of "Israel," is clear from the twofold circumstance, that on the one hand the mentioning of the name means nothing here but the imposition of the mission, and that on the other hand this mission is properly signified by the name of "Jahveh's Servant" (xlix. 5).

describes his vocation, declaring at the same time how he will through abasement and distress accomplish his task (xlix. 1–3 [+li.16]+lix. 4–6, 7 [+l. 4–9]+8–12). Immediately on this follow lyric promises of salvation and asseverations of divine mercy addressed to the people (xlix. 11–26+li. 1–3). According to the remark made above a secondary passage in which the Servant is again lifting up his voice should be recognised in li. 4–10 (+xlviii. 11 ?) introduced by l. 10. The discourse li. 4 ff. is likewise succeeded by consolations addressed to Sion (li. 12–23; lii. 1–12), the transition from the words spoken by the Servant to the divine consolations being almost imperceptible, as was also the case in the passage xlix. 8 ff.

2. In the second place Jahveh introduces His Servant and proclaims his praise and exalts his greatness as contrasted with the humiliations to which he shall be subjected (xlii. 1–7+lii. 13–15); then, answering Jahveh's eulogium, the prophet makes "the many" on whose behalf the Servant is to be entrusted with his mission celebrate in a magnificent song the redemption of "us all" through the Servant's sufferings and death (liii. 1–10), Jahveh finally speaking again to announce the future glorification of the Servant as a reward for his labours (liii. 11–12). Now the brightest congratulations and promises to Sion once more break forth, reaching the highest pitch of enthusiasm at the vision of the everlasting and universal dominion which awaits the holy city (liv.–lv.+lx.): "Sing, O barren, thou that didst not bear; break forth into singing and cry aloud, thou that didst not travail with child; for more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife . . . ," etc. As one more link connecting these prophecies of glory with the vision of the Servant may be noted the allusion to the latter in lv. 4.—As was the case with li. 4 ff. the opening verses of chapter lxi. (1–3) seem

to contain a secondary address of the Servant himself, followed by a recapitulation of the promises of imminent salvation and future glory (lxi. 4-lxii.): "The spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives . . .," etc. It is not, in any case, in the slightest degree probable that the speaker should be meant to be Cyrus, whose character the appointment here described does not suit at all, and to whom throughout chapters xlix. ff. not the faintest allusion is made.

III.

Sometimes the prophet, while describing the humiliations and sufferings of the Servant, uses such vivid lines and colours that he seems to be recording scenes of which he was a witness, or of which tradition had preserved a distinct remembrance. He seems to be speaking of the Servant and of his tribulations as of things belonging to the past. Thus in l. 6 ff., and notably in liii. 2 ff.:

> . . . For *he hath grown up* before Him as a tender plant
> and as a root out of a dry ground;
> he *had* no form nor comeliness that we should look on him,[1]
> and no beauty that we should desire him . . ., *etc.*

It is *evident*, some very urgently point out, that the discourse, here and in the following description, is to be understood and translated with the verbs in the *past* tense.

Quite true. But it is difficult to see how the discourse could have possibly been constructed otherwise, even on the supposition, which as we shall see presently is the true one, that the prophet was looking to the future. It is not to be overlooked that the prophet, as regards the literary

[1] In spite of the preceding *athnach* of the Massoretes, וְנִרְאֵהוּ is to be connected with the preceding sentence, as is made clear by the parallelism with the following line.

composition, does not speak in the passages quoted for himself and from his own particular standpoint. Exactly as in l. 4 ff. the speaker is the Servant who could quite correctly be made to describe his humiliations in the past tense, even if he was conceived as a figure belonging to the future, so in liii. 7 ff. the speaker is not the prophet speaking just for himself, but " the many " of whom it had just been said, lii. 14–15, that they would be astonished at the Servant. The redeemed " many," brought in as it were on the scene and celebrating their salvation by the sufferings and death of the Servant, could not be made to speak otherwise than in the past tense. That this view is the correct one appears distinctly from liii. 1. Here the subject, speaking in the first person plural, evidently the same as in the following description, first of all refers to *the message* which prior to any direct experience or witnessing had announced the great mystery whose signification is expounded in the magnificent poem :

Who would have believed the message that came to us (שִׁמְעָתֵנוּ) and to whom was the arm of the LORD revealed ? . . .

The message alluded to is no other than that contained in the divine discourse (xlii. 1–7+) lii. 13–15. It is this message whose truth is then confirmed and whose contents are further unfolded by those who are represented as having witnessed the fulfilment of the prophecy. The description in liii. 2 ff. is a dramatic development of the ideal theme presented to the vision of the prophet by the preceding message of the Lord. As long as " the many " are extolling their redemption by the expiatory death of the Servant, the discourse quite naturally is in the past tense : liii. 4, " Surely *he hath borne* our griefs and *carried* our sorrows . . . ," etc. But as soon as the Lord is again the speaking subject, the imperfect of the verb reappears and the sentence is in the form of the future : 11, " *He shall see* the travail of his

soul . . . ; by his knowledge *shall* my righteous Servant *justify* many ; for *he shall bear* their iniquities," etc.

So also the Lord had spoken of the Servant in the future xlii. 1–7+lii. 13–15, and xlix. 6.

It seems to us that the mission of the Servant and his labours belong (in the prophet's mind) to the future, and even (as concerns, for instance, his " setting of judgment on earth," and his teaching of his Law to the isles, his enlightening of the Gentiles so that he may be the Lord's salvation unto the end of the earth) to a still remote future.

Of course the restoration of Jerusalem or the deliverance of the people from captivity are also, in chapters xlix. ff., described as the object of the Servant's office. But in these chapters, far more than in xl.–xlviii., the prophet at the same time insists on the future glory of Sion and on the supreme power with which she shall rule the nations, as the proper aim of the Servant's exertions (xlix. 21 ff. ; liv., lx.). In chapters xlix. ff. the deliverance of Israel from captivity is indeed set forth as being only a preliminary condition and a preparation to the fulfilment of the Servant's main purpose, which is the spiritual conquest of the Gentiles and the redemption of the many nations. It is on that account that deliverance and restoration are attributed to the Servant as the initial phase of the general renovation to be brought about by him :

xlix. 6. And he said : it is a light thing that thou shouldest be
my Servant
to raise up the tribes of Jacob,
and to restore the preserved of Israel ;
I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles,
that thou mayest be my salvation
unto the end of the earth.

In xlii. 6 the Servant is likewise described at the same time as a Covenant of the people and as a light for the

Gentiles, and further on in lii. 13–15, liii. it is his relation to the Gentiles which is put foremost in view.

On account of the splendour of the destiny promised to Jerusalem and of the prominence given to the universalistic character of the Servant's work, chapters xlix. ff. thus appear to be marked with the sign of Messianic prophecy far more distinctly than xl.–xlviii. It is not to be wondered at that the eschatology of apocalyptic books has borrowed from that part of the book of Isaiah such imagery as that of the foundations and gates of Jerusalem built of precious stones (liv. 11 ff.), or as that of Jahveh as the everlasting light of the holy city, her sun during day-time and her moon at night (lx. 19).

These remarks may satisfy us that any attempt to identify the Servant with a hero amongst the prophet's contemporaries or of the past must of necessity be in vain. Other circumstances point to the same conclusion. Only by his moral superiority and by achievements of a moral character will the Servant discharge his superhuman task and subdue nations and kings (xlix. 7 ; lii. 13 ff. ; liii. 12) ; by his own vicarious sufferings and death he will atone for the sins of all (liii.). He is, moreover, a perfect model of absolute innocence, so that he cannot be supposed to have been punished for any transgressions or faults of his own :

liii. 9. They made his grave with the wicked
and with the evildoers [1] his tomb,[2]
though he had committed no wrong
and no falsehood was in his mouth.

[1] עשׁירע instead of עשׁיר (the initial ר of רע having been written alone by abbreviation ?).

[2] בית־מותו instead of במותיו ? The two supposed abbreviations in one line may, of course, most likely have been accidentally occasioned by shortness of space. At the same time it may be noted that some not infrequent variants between LXX and MT would be readily explained by supposed abbreviations in older manuscripts ; comp., for instance, Hos. i. 7 ; Soph. i. 8, etc., the variance between בית and בני. In Lev. xvii. 13 TM has . . . מכני where Sam. offers the better reading . . . מביח.

10. Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him,
He smote him, as if he had given offence himself [1] . . .

IV.

Many scholars whose science and soundness of judgment command respect are of opinion that the "Servant of Jahveh" in the second part of the book of Isaiah always represents some collective subject, and most of the supporters of such a view suppose that Israel is generally meant.

In chapters xl.–xliii. Israel indeed is called often enough "Jahveh's servant" and His "elect." See xli. 8 ff.; xlii. 19; xliii. 10; xliv. 1, 2, 21; xlv. 4; xlviii. 20.[2]

But Israel, in xl.–xlviii., in spite of his being called Jahveh's servant, bears a moral character absolutely different from that of *Jahveh's Servant* in xlix. ff.: Israel has been unfaithful; he has deserved severe punishment; he is a servant whom Jahveh reproaches with blindness (xlii. 19); whereas in xlix. ff. the Servant is without sin, invested with the mission to open the eyes of the blind.

All critics, of course, are aware of that fact. But could not the difference be accounted for by admitting that the servant Israel is not always considered under the same aspect and from the same point of view? In chapters xl.–xlviii. the *real, historical* people of Israel is the object of the prophet's utterances; should not in chapters xlix. ff. the

[1] The rhythm of the diction, the parallelism between the lines, the consideration of the possibilities as to the meaning expressed alike suggest to us the conclusion that הֶחֱלִי is to be joined to the following words and to be read הֶחֱלָהוּ (= הֶחֱלָהוּ) as a perfect hiphil of חלה with the suffix: "*He smote him* . . ."; subject is Jahveh.—כַּאֲשֶׁר אִם = אִם: *as if*.—תָּשִׂים אָשָׁם can have no other subject than the following נַפְשׁוֹ; the meaning must be: *as if he was guilty himself*. The phrase שׂוּם אָשָׁם (*give offence* ?) is suspicious. Perhaps the original reading was הֶחֱלוֹ אִם תְּאַשֵּׁם נַפְשׁוֹ; the verb תאשם having been miswritten תשים the אשם of our text may have been at first added to תשים above the line as a correction, which was afterwards inserted into the text along with the *corrigendum*.

[2] In xliv. 26 (to be read עַבְדָיו instead of עַבְדּוֹ) according to the context *the prophets* are meant.

prophet be said to have before his mind the *ideal Israel?*

However, such a distinction implies that in any case the subject considered is not the same in both sections, and consequently the mere fact that in chapters xl.–xlviii. the phrase "servant of Jahveh" is used as an epithet connected with the name of Israel cannot by itself offer a solid ground for arguing that in chapters xlix. ff. also the "Servant of Jahveh" is meant as a personification of Israel in one or another respect. To this may be added that the very term *servant* (עבד) is not used to the same purpose when attached to the name of Israel and when representing the figure in view in chapters xlix. ff. In the latter section, including, as the reader is aware, xlii. 1–7, the subject spoken of is called Jahveh's Servant in the sense meaning that he is Jahveh's minister and representative invested by Jahveh with a mission to discharge in His name. This needs no proof. In chapters xl.–xlviii., on the contrary, the qualification "servant of Jahveh" is given as an epithet to the people of Israel only to signify the privilege of religious bondage uniting Israel with his God; Israel is the servant of the Lord in the sense meaning that he is the people specially connected with Jahveh by the favour of having been admitted and by the fact of being obliged to pay Him his religious homage. In all the passages in which the term occurs as applied to Israel, its meaning is correlative to the notion of Jahveh being Israel's King (xli. 21; xliii. 15; xliv. 6). In a similar sense the faithful Israelites, in the last section of the book (lvi.–lix. + lxiii.–lxvi.) are called Jahveh's servants in the plural, as has been pointed out at the beginning of this paper.

An objection to the statement just made might be drawn from xlii. 19*b*, where we read according to the current translations (A.V., not R.V.):

Who is blind but my servant ?
or deaf as *my messenger that I sent ?* (כמלאכי אשלח. . . .)

This rendering of the text seems to us to be subject to most serious difficulties. From the fact that this would be the only passage in xl.–xlviii. describing Israel as Jahveh's messenger, suspicion is at once aroused by the pleonasm involved in the twofold determination : *my* messenger (מַלְאָכִי) *that I sent.* But what is most strongly to be urged against the reading and translation which we are considering is the confusion of notions and the inversion of rôles implied in them. How could the servant Israel possibly have been *deaf*, in the course of his past history, save by his refusing *to listen to the messengers sent to him ?* The notion of Israel being favoured by Jahveh's messages is one occurring very frequently in chapters xl.–xlviii. (xl. 9 ; xli. 26 f. ; xlii. 9 ; xliii. 2 ; xliv. 7 f., 26 ; xlv. 21 ; l. 2.[1] . .). But it would have been an unexpected misconception to present, in this one passage,[2] the people of Israel under the figure of a messenger of Jahveh, just on the occasion of his being reproached with deafness. Not as being the messenger himself, but as the one to whom such frequent messages were sent was Israel logically to be conceived and designed in the complaint about his deafness. Therefore we prefer to read מַלְאָכַי in the plural, and to translate :

Who is blind but my servant
or deaf as *he to whom I sent my messengers ?*

The ellipse supposed is not in the least contrary to Hebrew syntax, and in the second part of the book of Isaiah itself

[1] For the original connexion of l. 1–3 with xl.–xlviii., see above, p. 189.
[2] The case would have been different if Israel had been spoken of throughout as *the supposed* messenger of Jahveh. Then the charge of deafness as implying dumbness could have been understood as a natural reproach of unfaithfulness in the fulfilment of his *supposed* mission.

we find more than one example of it. To quote only passages where such a construction is to be admitted as certain, we refer, for instance, to xl. 29: וּלְאֵין אוֹנִים עָצְמָה יַרְבֶּה (*and to them that have no might he increaseth strength*) = ולאשר אין אונים להם עצמה ירבה; and xlviii. 21 בֶּחֳרָבוֹת הוֹלִיכָם . . . (. . . *in the deserts through which He led them*) [1] = בחרבות אשר הוליכם בהן. Thus also in xlii. 19*b* כאשר מַלְאָכַי אשלח לו=כמלאכי אשלח.

Seeing that the epithet or the name Servant is not taken in the same sense in chapters xl.–xlviii. and xlix. ff., it is not to be wondered at that the subject to whom it is applied is not the same in both sections.

It is not always easy to see which meaning is attached by commentators or critics to the term "ideal Israel" as describing the subject to whom they suppose the title *Servant of Jahveh* to be given in chapters xlix. ff. But with any explanation it is at least very difficult to understand how the character and mission attributed to the Servant in that section of the book could possibly be assigned, even by means of the boldest metaphor, to an *ideal Israel*. One may take this term as signifying an abstract entity, the mere object of a concept or an idea, exhibiting a model Israel, Israel as it should be; or the meaning of the term may be *the real Israel*, but freed from all impure elements, the *faithful Israel*. In the first case, how are we to suppose that the "ideal Israel" would accomplish such a work of redemption and renovation by sufferings and by death? It is not by his dying, but on the contrary by his coming to life, by his being realised in concrete history, that such an "ideal Israel" might have been expected to fulfil his task. Then how could an abstract entity have been conceived of by the prophet

[1] The notion, *when He led them through the deserts*, would have been expressed by the phrase בהוליכו אותם בחרבות.

as invested with the definite mission of preaching its doctrine, and with the active moral character described in our texts? If one prefers to take "the ideal Israel" as meaning a personification of the people of Israel freed from its impure elements, it is equally difficult to see why the Servant thus identified should have been conceived as bringing salvation by his vicarious death. According to the constant doctrine of the prophets the kernel of the faithful amongst the people are not expected to atone by their own "death" for the sins of the others; they are, on the contrary, expected to form, by their preservation, a Remnant from which the renewed people of Jahveh is to spring. And this same doctrine also underlies our chapters xlix. ff. Here the Servant is explicitly distinguished from the faithful amongst the people, l. 10: "Who among you feareth the Lord, let him obey [1] the voice of His Servant"; the Servant is entrusted with the mission to say to Sion in Jahveh's name: Thou art my people! (li. 16), and to raise up the tribes of Jacob, to restore the preserved of Israel (xlix. 6). The Sion which is Jahveh's people, the tribes of Jacob raised up, the preserved of Israel restored, are, of course, Israel freed from its impure elements; and from this "ideal Israel" the Servant is emphatically distinguished as a different subject.

It cannot be denied that the figure of the Servant in chapters xlix. ff. is marked with a strongly accentuated individual character, and this may be urged not only against the identification of the Servant with Israel, but against any other view of a collective subject being designed by the prophet. Let one try, for instance, to apply to a collective subject the description in xlii. 2–3: "He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. A

[1] ישמע; see above.

bruised reed shall he not break. . . ," [1] etc.; or the utterances in chapter liii. about the trial and condemnation and death and burial of the Servant; or in l. 5 ff. about his humiliations and ill-treatment. On this point, of course, no words are to be wasted, as any one must make out for himself whether it be possible for him to explain these particulars as a matter of figure and metaphor. We only call the attention of the reader to the fact that the evangelisation of the nations and the preaching of the Law to the ends of earth are set forth in xlii. 4 as well as xlix. 1 ff. not only as a result, but as the aim and purpose of the Servant's exertions prior to his death. This is not always duly kept in view by some scholars.

Comparing chapters xl.–xlviii. with xlix. ff. we have stated that in the latter section the Servant of Jahveh is not, in any sense, the people of Israel, though in the former Israel is also called Jahveh's servant and His elect.

However, there is, in fact, a striking parallelism between both sections, so much so that it may be fairly said that the contents of the second are as it were foreshadowed in the first.

Israel-Jacob of the first part has, as his proper counterpart in the second, either the same Israel, or the preserved tribes, or the glorified Sion-Jerusalem.

The personage who in chapters xl.–xlviii. holds towards Israel the position which is in xlix. ff. assigned to "the Servant" is Cyrus. It is Cyrus in the first section who is

[1] That the Servant "shall *not cry*," is not meant of his *crying for help*, as appears from the picturesque circumstance mentioned in the subsequent development: "nor cause his voice to be heard *in the street*." There is no ground, and it would be contrary to the natural and logical connexion of the sentences, to alter the text so as to read: "A bruised reed *shall I* not break . . . ," "a bruised reed," "the smoking flax" being supposed to represent the Servant himself. What Jahveh was going to do to His Servant was, of course, much more than *not to break* or *not to quench* him.

the " anointed of Jahveh," the one whose right hand Jahveh holds to lead him on in his career, the instrument used by Jahveh for the deliverance of His people (xlv. 1); it is Cyrus whom Jahveh called " by his name " to make him conquer kings and nations (xli. 2; xlv. 13), who is discharging faithfully the mission imposed on him (xli. 3, 25 f.; xliv. 28; xlv. 1 ff., 13), who is the representative of divine justice, raised up " in righteousness " (xli. 2; xlv. 13). All these traits accentuated and transferred to the moral order reappear as characteristics of Jahveh's Servant in chapters xlix. ff. Here it is His Servant whose right hand Jahveh holds to lead him on in his career (xlii. 6),[1] who is the instrument used by Jahveh for the deliverance and glorification of His people and for the salvation of mankind (xlix. 1 ff. and *passim*); it is the Servant whom Jahveh called " by his name " from the womb of his mother (xlii. 6; xlix. 1) to make him conquer kings and nations (xlix. 7; lii. 14, 15), who shall discharge faithfully the mission imposed on him (xlii. 1, 4 and *passim*), whom Jahveh called " in righteousness " (xlii. 6). Even as Cyrus will let go out the captives (xlv. 13) so that the blind will be brought by a way that they knew not and darkness made light before them (xlii. 16), even so shall the Servant deliver the prisoners, them that are in darkness (xlix. 9; lxi. 1 ff.) and open the eyes of the blind (xlii. 7). Even as Cyrus is called the anointed of Jahveh (xlv. 1), so also the Servant presents himself as Jahveh's anointed (lxi. 1).

The work of the Servant is ultimately of a spiritual and universal character, different in that respect from that of Cyrus. But the analogy of the treatment of the twofold subject in chapters xl. ff. and xlix. ff. in the first place suggests the conclusion that both sections come from the same

[1] The same figure is used with regard to Israel (xli. 13) to signify the aid given by Jahveh to His people *in order to sustain its weakness.*

author and, moreover, makes it probable that the first section was meant by the author to be a preparation for the second. And this again would account at once to a large extent for the abruptness of the Servant's appearance in xlix. 1 ff. Cyrus, *the restorer of Israel*, being conceived by the prophet as a prototype of the Servant, the exposition of the Servant's mission and exertions would have taken quite naturally, in the prophet's mind, the form of a narrative given by anticipation and corresponding to the description of Cyrus' achievements. For such a narrative the prophet's audience might be supposed to be looking.

Nevertheless something more is required to explain the confidence with which the prophet relies on the understanding of his audience when he repeatedly dwells on the expiatory sufferings and death by which the Servant shall accomplish the redemption of his people and of mankind. He seems implicitly to refer to views already current among those whom he addresses. It is possible that a first outline and some initial features of the teaching had dawned upon the spiritual leaders of the people in the light of the terrible crisis out of which the renewed Israel was triumphantly to emerge. And still more likely the extraordinary fate of king Joiakin may not have been foreign, as an occasion or starting point, to the genesis of the prophecy concerning the suffering Messiah. The long captivity of Joiakin must have won him, in the end, the sympathy of his people, as may be inferred from the complaint of the author of Lamentations iv. 20 :

> The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord
> was taken in their pits,
> of whom we said : Under his shadow
> we shall live among the heathen.

Though his conduct, his personal surrender to the Chaldaeans, had been severely reproved by Jeremiah, others

may have viewed it, even from the beginning, under a different light. In any case, owing perhaps to the feeling aroused by his dire misfortune, the unhappy king soon became looked upon as a hero and in popular tradition his name shone surrounded with the halo of martyrdom (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 7, 1 ; 11, 2 ; *Bell.* vi. 2, 1). Joiakin, the offspring and representative of the house of David, considered as having willingly surrendered himself for the preservation of his people, put into prison, then, after thirty-seven years of strict captivity, reinstated in his dignity and exalted at the court of Amel-Marduk, might have served as a model in miniature for the description of the destiny of that mysterious figure of the days to come, who from a deeper humiliation would rise to a higher glory, and through a more efficacious self-sacrifice accomplish a redemption more universal.

A. Van Hoonacker.

A STUDY IN INVERTED COMMAS.

As long as man continues to be intellectually a social being, so long will he continue to read what other people have written. And the reading will be followed by a very natural desire to retain something, either because of the new truth which is therein brought forward, or because of the effective form in which an old truth is expressed. Sometimes the personality of the speaker is held in such high respect that his words seem to stamp a satisfactory and final form upon thoughts which have been undergoing many births in the minds of different men. And so a stage is reached at which a writer always seeks to embody that particular truth in a fixed because familiar form. But it often happens that we consciously use other people's language without attributing to them any right to formulate

the general thought of mankind. For instance, it is convenient for a letter-writer to quote his correspondent for the purpose of approving or refuting his position. And in these cases, where the expression is not so common as to be a saying whose source and history are familiar, we need to employ some means of indicating its character. In our own day the device of inverted commas serves the purpose, and shews our reader that we do not claim the enclosed words as our own, even in cases where we do not acknowledge our indebtedness to any particular individual.

Now the writers of our New Testament were men—especially Paul—and must be allowed to betray a human weakness for quotations. Sometimes, indeed, they quote without any indication of the fact and without pretence at acknowledgment. Thus the author of 2 Peter seems to have incorporated almost the whole of the Epistle of Jude. And the more we know of the thought and methods of the writers of the ancient world, the more we realise that what a modern condemns as plagiarism was once a perfectly justifiable literary proceeding, and was, indeed, recognised as one of the regular duties of an author. But in other cases, there is something to be gained by suggesting that there was an external source for a particular sentence. Every quotation of a familiar authority is of the nature of an appeal. Such an appeal, for example, is Paul's bold "as certain of your own poets have said"; such, too, is the peculiar sting that Epimenides' verse must have produced on the ears of a Cretan bishop; such, above all, is the appeal involved in "Remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how He said." But, for the most part, Paul's methods are much more delicate and unobtrusive, and the same may be said about others of our New Testament writers. And so there arises the question, How did an early Christian writer indicate his quotations?

In some of the earliest of our New Testament MSS. there are marginal suggestions—little brackets at the beginning of the line, or some similar device—of the presence of a quotation. But these nearly always point to language taken from the Old Testament, and are to be attributed to the scribe rather than to the author. They are applied to passages which any one who knew literature would have recognised for himself, and fail entirely to give us the author's own reference to matter which is familiar to him and to his readers, but not, perhaps, to the world at large.

Rendel Harris has given us an introduction to the fascinating, but somewhat uncertain, art of writing letters to Paul.[1] Not the least of the services rendered by Dr. Moffatt's new translation of the New Testament is his recognition of a large number of phrases which were not used for the first time when they first appear in our texts. And both have taught us that there are certain signs by which we can recognise, in all parts of the New Testament, but especially, perhaps, in Paul, quotations from other sayings or writings which are no longer available to us. In some cases, it is true, Paul employs the unmistakable method of direct reference. But in others there is a subtler allusion to what is in the Apostle's mind. The indications on which Dr. Harris worked may seem in themselves to be slight, but they enabled him to produce a convincing whole. For instance, when in 1 Thessalonians ii. 1 Paul says, *αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἴδατε . . . τὴν εἴσοδον . . . ὅτι οὐ κενὴ γέγονεν.* "But you remember yourselves . . . that our visit . . . was no failure,"[2] he seems to be referring the Thessalonian Church back to words which they had already used in writing to him. For how would he know that they knew unless they had told him? Again in ii. 13, the otherwise superfluous *καί* shews that they themselves were

[1] Expositor, September, 1898. [2] So Moffatt.

thanking God without ceasing—a familiar epistolary phrase, but one which acquires a deeper meaning from Paul's pen. Dr. Moffatt's "quotations" are too numerous to mention, but every reader of the new translation must have felt the rightness of the translator's instinct, and the illumination which his suggestions shed on the passages he has so indicated.

One of the phrases which Dr. Harris found so useful may help us to further light in what is, perhaps, a slightly different direction. He has seen an inverted comma in the phrase "ye know"; it is possible that an equally likely one is to be found in the Pauline *οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι* . . . . "We know that. . . ." The formula is not altogether an uncommon one with Paul. It occurs, for instance, four times in Romans, iii. 19, vii. 14, vii. 22, 28. The first of these has a distinctly gnomic air. "*Οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι ὅσα ὁ νόμος λέγει τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λαλεῖ.* "Whatever the law[1] says, we know, it says to those who are inside the law." There is a rhythm and a balance about the sentence which strongly suggests those epigrams in which the wise of the world are wont to enshrine their wisdom. We do not know enough of the Rabbinic schools of Tarsus and Jerusalem to dogmatise either way, but it is at least possible that we have in this verse a phrase which was familiar to every one who was at all well informed in the language of the teachers of the day. And how else could Paul assume that there was this common knowledge in his own mind and in those of his readers?

A similar remark may apply to vii. 14. *οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι ὁ νόμος πνευματικός ἐστιν*—"The law, we know, is spiritual"[1]—may be a generalisation from experience—such as those so frequently introduced by this phrase in 1 John; but it is surely not out of the way to suggest

[1] So Moffatt.

that it was a remark current among those learned in the Law. In the same way the sentence in viii, 22, *οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν* —"To this day, we know, the entire creation sighs and throbs with pain,"[1]—may well have been a familiar saying which supplied the keynote, not only for the *στενάζομεν* of v. 23, but also for the same word in 2 Corinthians v. 2. Again in v. 28—*οἴδαμεν δὲ ὅτι τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν τὸν Θεὸν πάντα συνεργεῖ εἰς ἀγαθόν, τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν αὐτοῦ κλητοῖς οὖσιν*—"We know, also, that those who love God, those who have been called in terms of His purpose, have His interest and aid in everything"[1]—we may have a Jewish commonplace which finds fainter echo in Ephesians i. 11—*ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐκληρώθημεν προορισθέντες κατὰ πρόθεσιν τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐνεργοῦντος κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ* —"In whom we have had our heritage allotted to us (as was decreed in the design of Him who carries out everything according to the counsel of His will)."

These, however, are passages about which not a little scepticism may be expected. There is less room for doubt in the case of 1 Corinthians viii. 1 and 4. "*περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων, οἴδαμεν ὅτι πάντες γνῶσιν ἔχομεν . . . περὶ τῆς βρώσεως οὖν τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων οἴδαμεν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἴδωλον ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ· καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς Θεὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς*," which Dr. Moffatt renders, "With regard to food that has been offered to idols. Here, of course, 'we all possess knowledge'. . . . Well, then, with regard to food that has been offered to idols, I am quite aware that 'there is no such thing as an idol in the world,' and that 'there is only the one God.'" Professor Lock[2] and Dr. Moffatt have both recognised in these verses the sign of quotation. The former has

[1] So Moffatt.

[2] Expositor, 1897, pp. 65 sqq. My own conclusions, however, were reached before my attention was called to Professor Lock's article.

correctly referred them to the letter from the Corinthian Church which was the exciting cause of the Pauline Epistle. The vehemence of Paul's rebuke shews that it was a conceited statement on their part. The Apostle had occasion elsewhere in his letter to call attention to this "puffing up" (cf. iv. 6, and possibly xiii. 4), and he here diagnoses the cause as being a fact—or an assumption—on which the Church prided itself. The second quotation, that of v. 4, shews quite clearly what had happened. The Church of Corinth, in asking the question about meats offered to idols, had tried to defend their somewhat lax practice by claiming that they knew that the gods of the heathen had no reality. The food underwent no change whatever in being presented in a temple. It could not matter, then, whether it had been so offered or not. The question is no longer within the sphere of practical problems in this country, but it is of very real interest, for instance, to the Indian Church, whose members could often obtain their meat cheaper by buying it from the priests of Kali, to whom a portion of every sacrifice belongs as a perquisite, generally the head. But it enabled Paul to lay down a principle which is of more than local or passing interest, and serves to guide the Christian conscience to this day—"If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no more meat for ever, lest I make my brother to offend."

One more illustration of this same "inverted comma." One of the noblest passages in all Paul's writings is to be found in 2 Corinthians iv. and v.; iv. 17–v. 1 run: *τὸ γὰρ παραυτίκα ἐλαφρὸν τῆς θλίψεως καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης κατεργάζεται ἡμῖν, μὴ σκοπούντων ἡμῶν τὰ βλεπόμενα ἀλλὰ τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα· τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα πρόσκαιρα, τὰ δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια. οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους καταλυθῇ, οἰκοδομὴν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἔχομεν, οἰκίαν ἀχειροποίητον αἰώνιον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.*

—"The slight trouble of the passing hour results in a solid glory past all comparison, for those of us whose eyes are on the unseen, not on the seen; for the seen is transient, the unseen eternal. I know that if this earthly tent of mine is taken down, I get a home from God, made by no human hands, eternal in the heavens." [1] Now why should Paul, in the midst of such a passage as this, introduce "we (or I) know that," a phrase which implies that he was saying something which was known not only to himself but also to his readers? The sentence would have run equally well if he had omitted these words. It is impossible to get away from the feeling that there is something behind this mode of expression. But what? How did Paul and the Corinthian Church know all about the heavenly house, and know it in this particular way?

An answer may be found if we turn to Mark xiv. 58. The false evidence given against Jesus was to the general effect that He had said, *ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τὸν χειροποίητον καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον οἰκοδομήσω*—"I will destroy this temple made by hands, and in three days I will build another temple not made by hands." [1] Even so there was enough uncertainty as to the ipsissima verba to make it impossible for the Sanhedrin to use this charge to condemn Jesus, and they had to fall back on the method of making the prisoner incriminate Himself in cross-examination. But there must have been some well-known saying of Jesus which could have given rise to the idea that He had used such words. Probably He had said things like this more than once, and with verbal differences on different occasions. We have nothing of this kind in the Synoptic Gospels. John ii. 19 does give, it is true, some words which might have formed a ground for such a slander:—"Destroy this sanctuary, and I will

[1] So Moffatt.

raise it up in three days." [1] But the resemblance between this passage and the saying referred to in Mark xiv. 58 is comparatively vague and general. As far as the words themselves go, the "three days" are the only ones which the two have in common. Nor could the reference in John ii. 19 be so easily misinterpreted; to an audience familiar with the doctrine of the resurrection the word ἐγερῶ—I will raise—carries a symbolic and theological air which should have prevented it from being readily perverted into the sense given by the false witnesses. Much of what is characteristic in the accusation is missing from the Johannine form of the saying, and is not likely to have been inserted by the perjurers. Why should they have laid the stress on the fact that one temple had been made with hands, while the other was not to be? Does not the repetition of this word, first occurring in the positive form and then in the privative, suggest that it was one of the important elements in the sentence as used by Jesus Himself? They were not likely to insert words which would lend to the whole an aspect of metaphor which would naturally militate against the very impression which they desired to produce.

The Pauline verse, on the other hand, does represent the chief words, except the "three days," which may have been the point of the falsity in the report. Or the words may have been introduced as a deliberate contrast to the "eternity" which appears in Paul. Elsewhere there is remarkable agreement in the matter of words. Particular attention may be called to the word καταλύω for "destroy" —not the simple λύω of John ii. 19; ἀχειροποίητος has already been noted, and a further parallel may be drawn between the οἰκοδομήσω of Mark and the οἰκοδομὴν of Paul. The variant nuance involved in the use of ναός

[1] See Moffatt.

for σκῆνος may have formed an instance of the very different implication that might be placed on the actual words of Jesus by a small change. A great truth, uttered by Jesus, was, by one slight modification and one deliberate alteration, perverted into criminal blasphemy against the Temple. We know from Acts xx. 35 that Paul had access to sayings of Jesus which are no longer included in our Gospels; we have possibly a further illustration of this fact in the Pauline account of the Last Supper, and it seems as if we might have recovered here, almost in its original form, another of those sayings generally known to us from other sources than those employed by the Evangelists, and have found the very words which were used with such sinister purpose by the accusers of Jesus.

Another phrase which may have the effect of leading us to a remark which was not original with the writer is perhaps to be seen in the combination ὡς ὅτι which occurs some three times in the Pauline correspondence. It is usually explained as being a mere reduplication of the ὡς or the ὅτι, and no doubt adequate parallels are forthcoming. In 2 Corinthians v. 19 it is quite possible that the ordinary explanation will suffice. τὰ δὲ πάντα τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ καταλλάξαντος ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῷ διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ δόντος ἡμῖν τὴν διακονίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς, ὡς ὅτι Θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἑαυτῷ, μὴ λογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, καὶ θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον τῆς καταλλαγῆς. Dr. Moffatt renders this "It is all the doing of the God who has reconciled me to Himself through Christ and has permitted me to be a minister of His reconciliation. For in Christ God reconciled the world to Himself instead of counting men's trespasses against them; and He entrusted me with the message of His reconciliation." Whilst there is nothing to be said against this, or any other form of the ordinary interpretation of these verses, it is, at

least, possible that Paul was recalling the minds of his readers to a phrase which was familiar to all of them.

Probably, we shall find the chief storehouse of allusions to the words of Paul's correspondents in what is now generally regarded as the third of Paul's extant letters to the Church of Corinth, 2 Corinthians x. 1–xiii. 10. Writing as he was, under a strong sense of irritation at the insults heaped on him by the Corinthian Church or by some of its members, he turned again and again to the rankling words of his enemies. Once, indeed, he broke into open and deliberate quotation (x. 10: "Paul's letters are weighty and telling, but his personality is weak and his delivery is beneath contempt" [1]), but we need only go back to the first verse of the chapter to find a festering wound —ὃς κατὰ πρόσωπον μὲν ταπεινὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀπὼν δὲ θαρρῶ εἰς ὑμᾶς—"humble enough, when he is with you, but outspoken enough when he gets away from you." [1] And in the very next verse we have, for the first time, another of these recurring phrases—ἐν σαρκὶ περιπατοῦντος. The words ἄφρων, ἀφροσύνη occur oftener in these four chapters than in all Paul's other writings. And, amongst many remarks of this kind there is one which has a special bearing on our present study in xi. 21—κατ' ἀτιμίαν λέγω, ὡς ὅτι ἠσθενήκαμεν. For this the A.V. has: "I speak concerning reproach, as though we had been weak," the R.V. "I speak by way of disparagement, as though we had been weak." Weymouth is somewhat nearer the sense, "I use the language of self-disparagement, as though I were admitting our own feebleness." Moffatt has quite a different interpretation—"I am quite ashamed to say I was not equal to that sort of thing." But does any one of these meet the case? The A.V. and R.V., in particular, hardly make sense. And ought we not to see in the reiterated

[1] So Moffatt.

allusion to "weakness" in *vv.* 29, 30, and especially x. 10 (see above), a suggestion that this was one of the words which had hurt the Apostle? Suppose some one had said to him, "ἄτιμος εἶ, ὅτι ἠσθένηκας," would it not have been quite in the tone of the rest of this letter for him to have caught up the words of the disparager and said, Yes; you have called me an "outcaste," "because I have been weak" (and the verses already alluded to suggest that this weakness is to be understood as physical), "but, even accepting your own standard of values, I have plenty to boast of." With all respect to the scholars who have dealt with the verse, it may be that this is the only interpretation which quite satisfies the demands of the passage.

The case is still clearer with 2 Thessalonians ii. 1, 2. Rendel Harris has given us no second epistle of the Thessalonians to Paul, but it is almost certain that there was one, and it is possible that he or some other may yet be led to reconstruct it. It is reflected in these verses:—*Ἐρωτῶμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ὑπὲρ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπισυναγωγῆς ἐπ' αὐτόν, εἰς τὸ μὴ ταχέως σαλευθῆναι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νοὸς μηδὲ θροεῖσθαι, μήτε διὰ πνεύματος μήτε διὰ λόγου μήτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὡς δι' ἡμῶν, ὡς ὅτι ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Κυρίου.* The curious combination of particles in the last clause seems to have puzzled translators. The A.V. has "Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together to Him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of [1] Christ is at hand." The R.V. for the latter part of v. 2—". . . or by epistle as from us, as that the day of the Lord is now present." Weymouth:—". . . . either by any pretended spiritual revelation, or by any message or

[1] Reading Χριστοῦ for Κυρίου.

letter claiming to have been sent by us—through fancying that the day of the Lord is now here." And Moffatt—" . . . by any spirit of prophecy or any declaration or any letter purporting to come from me, to the effect that the Day of the Lord is already here." It will be seen at once that the first ὡς has occasioned no difficulty, and both the later translators give a satisfactory and adequate rendering. In the second case, however, the A.V. and the R.V. both attempt to render the two particles, and neither succeeds in getting any particular meaning out of them. Unless there were more to be said, it would have been better to do as Weymouth and Moffatt have done, and take the two as being merely a strong way of expressing the idea of one of them. But it is possible to give a real meaning to both if we are prepared to see in the ὡς a sign of quotation. So at least, the Peshiṭta had it, and their rendering of this particle—" lam "—shews that they felt that here another source was being drawn upon, a source familiar both to the writer and to the readers.

Paul's preaching at Thessalonica had evidently contained a certain eschatological element. His first letter—perhaps in iv. 13–18—had seemed at variance with that teaching, and had led the Church to believe that the Parousia was impending. They, in replying to him, said, " *ἐσαλεύθημεν ἀπὸ τοῦ νοὸς καὶ ἐθροούμεθα . . . ὅτι ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Κυρίου.*" " . . . *because* the Day of the Lord is at hand." And he now very naturally exhorts them to steady themselves and be prepared to see certain signs come to pass before the Day actually appears.

This is, perhaps, the clearest case of quotation from correspondence in this Epistle, but it is not the only one. A further study of the subject belongs rather to the detailed treatment of the Epistle. There are numerous other passages in the New Testament which seem to exhibit

similar traces of dependence on some saying or document no longer extant in its original form, but those already quoted will serve to illustrate (if illustration be needed) the richness of the subject, and the possibilities of interesting exegesis which it opens up. Above all, it helps us to realise the essential human nature of the New Testament writers. They were men of like passions with ourselves, and their habits of thought and methods of working were not widely different from those familiar to us all. To place them on a pedestal and set a halo round their heads in such fashion as to raise them above the circumstances of ordinary humanity is to lose much of what is most valuable in their life and example. They were Saints and Apostles because they were men first; their sanctity and devotion are within the reach of all humanity.

T. H. Robinson.

THE MOSAIC ORIGIN OF THE DECALOGUE, III.

The Original Form of the Decalogue.

But what precisely is the ethical decalogue? Whether we consider the form which it assumes in Exodus xx. or in Deuteronomy v., the first thing that strikes us is the difference in the length of the various commandments. Some are very short—the first, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth: some are of medium length—the third, fifth and tenth: and two are very long—the second and the fourth. Further, the two versions differ slightly; and, although only very slightly, any discrepancy is strange and rather surprising when we consider the importance of the Decalogue and the care with which we may presume so important a monument was preserved. A comparison of the two versions of the tenth commandment is instructive,

In Exodus it runs: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbour's." In Deuteronomy it runs: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, neither shalt thou desire thy neighbour's house, his field, or his manservant, or his maidservant, his ox, or his ass, or anything that is thy neighbour's." The textual tradition is not indeed very secure: the LXX of Exodus, supported by the Nash papyrus, reads, with the Massoretic text of Deuteronomy, "wife" before "house," and inserts "field" after "house." Again in Exodus the word תחמד occurs twice, in Deuteronomy it is replaced the second time by תתאוה. Bearing in mind the comprehensive use of the word בית in the sense of household, including wife, children and chattels, we may satisfactorily explain both the length and the discrepancies in the two versions of this commandment by assuming that it originally ran simply, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house." Similarly the Deuteronomic version of the fifth commandment, "Honour thy father and thy mother, *as Jahweh thy God commanded thee*, that thy days may be long, *and that it may go well with thee*, in the land which Jahweh thy God giveth thee," is an expansion of the Exodus version, which is itself most probably an expansion of the simple "Honour thy father and thy mother." The differences between the two recensions of the Decalogue do not touch the commandments themselves, but for the most part only the explanatory or hortatory additions, which it has usually been felt form no part of the original commandments, but were added by a later hand. The Deuteronomic version of the fourth commandment, e.g., with its humanitarian motive, is clearly touched by the influence of Deuteronomy, with its pervasive regard for the servant and the sojourner:

"that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou; and thou shalt remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, etc." The Exodus version has as clearly come under the influence of P: here the motive for keeping the Sabbath is that "in six days Jahweh made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is: wherefore Jahweh blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it." The Sabbath is the true rest day of man, because it was the rest day of the Creator—a view reminiscent of Genesis ii. 2 (P).

When, however, we strip the commandments of their explanations and motives, the tradition of the words is even then not absolutely secure: the fourth commandment in Exodus is "*Remember* זכור the Sabbath day to keep it holy," in Deuteronomy it is *Observe* שמור. These facts have led Professor Matthes, of Amsterdam, to deny that there was ever a shorter form of the Decalogue.[1] He goes so far as to maintain that without the expansions such commandments as the second and fourth would be unintelligible. "Thou shalt not make unto thee an image." "An image of what," he asks, "and for what purpose?" There is no sense, he argues, in such a bare unqualified prohibition: the wrong could not lie in the mere making of an image, but in the making of an image of *God*, the making of an image *for worship*: therefore the longer form of the commandment is not only justified, but necessary. Again, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy"—how holy? Something must from the first have been added to suggest that the hallowing involved rest: otherwise the commandment hangs, so to speak, in the air. With the Decalogue he compares the Lord's Prayer, where similar phenomena have not generally been thought to carry the conclusion that an originally shorter prayer has been ex-

[1] *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1904, pp. 17–41.

panded. From the simple petitions "Hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come," we do not infer that "As in heaven, so on earth" should be withdrawn from "Thy will be done," or "As we also forgive our debtors" from "Forgive us our debts"—the longer form of this latter petition at least being apparently guaranteed by our Lord's teaching elsewhere (Matt. vi. 14 f.). The tables might be turned upon Professor Matthes by arguing that these clauses are, after all, conceivably expansions; but accepting the traditional form of the prayer, his analogy is relevant enough, except that the expansions in the Decalogue are always longer, and in the case of the second and the fourth commandments vastly longer than the clauses in question in the Lord's Prayer.

The question of whether the expansions are integral or not is very far from being unimportant; for if the longer form is the primary form then we cannot claim an earlier date for the Decalogue than the seventh century, as Deuteronomic influence is obvious in more than one commandment. The argument, however, for the necessity of the expansions to the original form of the Decalogue seems to be a piece of hypercriticism. It is surely plain enough that the second commandment standing on the first tablet, which deals with God and the things pertaining to Him, can only naturally refer to an image of God; and doubtless those to whom the fourth commandment was addressed had sufficient knowledge of the usages of Hebrew religion and worship to know in what sense the word "holy" was to be taken. The meaning would doubtless deepen and expand with the progress of the centuries; but from the beginning it meant something quite definite, and, if there should have been any dubiety, it was in every age the function of the priest to "teach my people the difference between the holy and the common" (Ezek. xliv. 23). With practically no hesi-

tation, then, we may claim the shorter form as the original, though it must not be forgotten that, even so, as has already been said, the tradition of the exact words was not absolutely secure, and it can hardly be regarded as other than singular that neither in J nor in E is the ethical Decalogue regarded as the basis of the covenant, but in both documents a group of other laws inscribed by Moses himself (in E, Exod. xx. 22–xxiii. 33, cf. xxiv. 4, 7 ; in J, Exod. xxxiv. 14–26, cf. xxxiv. 27). The Deuteronomist is the first, in point of fact, to base the covenant on the Decalogue.

The probability is that the original terms of the covenant were very simple, Israel binding herself to worship Jahweh as the only God, Jahweh engaging to protect Israel as His own people.[1] The formulation of the duties which the covenant-relation imposed upon Israel came afterwards, and grew more elaborate with Israel's advancing experience, moving from the simplicity of the ethical Decalogue through the much more detailed Book of the Covenant on to Deuteronomy and culminating in P. But, as we shall try to show, there is nothing to hinder us from believing that the earliest formulation of the terms, as expressed in the Decalogue, came from Moses himself. Certain it is that the two groups of laws which are, in J and E, expressly associated with the covenant concluded on Sinai or Horeb, really reflect, in their present form, a later experience of Israel and presuppose her settlement upon the soil of Canaan. We are justified, therefore, in refusing to be turned aside by the consideration that neither of the earlier prophetic documents bases the covenant upon the Decalogue. In this, as we have seen, they are probably historically correct, though it was nothing less than a stroke of genius to connect (as E does in Exod. xx. and D in Deut. v.) this truly wonderful monument with the sublime scene on Horeb.

[1] So Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit*, pp. 184 f.

IV.

Can the Original Form of the Decalogue be Mosaic?

The First Commandment.

1. The ground is now clear for the consideration of the question whether the Decalogue, in its shorter form, can be Mosaic. The difficulties centre chiefly round the second, fourth and tenth commandments. The ethical commandments, as we have seen, are paralleled in the legislation or usages of other early societies: the third commandment presupposes, in common with other ancient religions, the importance and the potency of the divine name; the first command presupposes, not monotheism but monolatry, a belief which is borne out by what we know of the earliest sources in the historical books (e.g. Judges and Samuel; cf. Jud. xi. 24; 1 Sam. iv. 3, xxvi. 19). The polytheistic implications of the first commandment are exactly the same as in the Song of Moses, the nucleus of which, though the Song itself has apparently been edited and expanded, may well go back to Moses:—

> Who is like unto Thee, Jahweh, among the gods? (Exod. xv. 11).

True, this is not absolutely inconsistent with a later, and even a very late, date. The scorn which Deutero-Isaiah heaps upon the Babylonian gods and image manufacture (Isa. xli. 6 f., xlvi. 1 f.), though it is a fine testimony to his own overwhelmingly monotheistic convictions, might not unfairly be taken to imply that the audience to which it was addressed was tempted to a belief in the existence and the power of Babylon's gods; and this supposition is confirmed by the stirring words of Ezekiel (ch. xx.) addressed to a deputation representing a party among the exiles so broken and despondent that they had made the resolve, "We will be as the nations, as the families of the

countries, to serve wood and stone" (xx. 32). A similar belief doubtless underlies the words of the exiles who sorrowfully hung their harps upon the willows and wept when they remembered Zion, saying :—

> How can we sing the songs of Jahweh
> On the soil of a stranger ? (Ps. cxxxvii. 4).

Almost a century afterwards even Malachi can describe the foreign women with whom his countrymen intermarried as "daughters of a foreign god" (ii. 11); and the post-exilic book of Jonah, written by one whose monotheism was no less sublime than that of Deutero-Isaiah, would seem to imply that some of his countrymen still cherished purely national and particularistic views of deity. Thus the first commandment, taken by itself, would not be inconsistent with an exilic or even post-exilic date; and if Steuernagel were right [1] in regarding the Decalogue as an "exilic catechism," no caveat could be entered from the side of the first commandment. But while it is consistent with a late date, it is just as consistent with an early date; and as every one admits that Moses taught Israel, as the most fundamental tenet of her life, that Jahweh was to be her God and she His people, it is much more natural to ascribe the first commandment to him than to relegate it to a later date.

The Tenth Commandment.

2. It is, as has been said, round the second, fourth and tenth commandments that the difficulties really gather. To begin with the tenth. The objection taken to it is that, unlike the others, it condemns, not the evil act, but the evil disposition, and it is therefore held to be too inward to be placed with any historical propriety at so early a stage in the development of Hebrew religion. All sorts of attempts

[1] *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, p. 261.

have been made to eliminate this inwardness from the commandment. Eerdmans[1] maintains that the true meaning of the words customarily rendered "Thou shalt not covet" is "Thou shalt not appropriate to thyself ownerless property," and even goes the length of saying that "Old Testament righteousness is always external and never reaches to the disposition," and that "the Old Testament view of righteousness and sin never pierces to the roots." To any one who remembers the searching teaching of Jeremiah or Job's sublime defence in chapter xxxi., so sweeping a statement must seem nothing less than preposterous. If it were true, and if Eerdmans' interpretation of חמד were correct, the commandment would simply condemn the individual encroachment on communal property as held, for example, in nomadic society. Dr. McNeile, if I understand him rightly, seems also to do less than justice to the inwardness of the commandment when he says,[2] "It is not certain that even the tenth 'word' really rises to a higher ethical standard than the others. . . . Certainly in Exodus, where the wife is coupled with slaves, cattle and other property, there is no reference to *lustful thought.* The command is aimed against that greedy desire for another's goods which so often issued in violent acts—the oppressions and cheating which were rife among the wealthier classes, and were denounced by Amos, Isaiah and Micah." But though the classing of the woman with property suggests that the wrongful attitude towards her, condemned by the commandment, is not concupiscence, it is nevertheless true that it is an attitude that is condemned: not the violent seizure of another's property, but the disposition which may lead to such violence, is here reprobated. (In other words, the tenth commandment is differentiated

[1] *Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1903, Heft 1.
[2] Westminster Commentaries, *Exodus*, pp. lix. 120 f.

from the others by being inward, while they are external; and we are asked by many scholars to believe that this inwardness is sufficient, of itself, to throw the Decalogue into a late period—assuming, that is, that the tenth commandment is integral to the original Decalogue. But while admitting, as one must, the broad fact of a general ethical advance in Israel's history, it is difficult to be patient with an argument of this kind, for it is to coerce a great man into an evolutionary scheme, and to ignore the mystery of personality.[1] A man of genius is never adequately explained by contemporary factors. He is a new force, and it is the sheerest dogmatism to say that certain things are not possible to him, solely on the ground that they are not "natural," or not demonstrable till some generations after him. In the providence of God, there have at times arisen men who saw more and further and deeper than their fellows; and surely we are not to deny this power to a man of the size and gifts of Moses, of whom the facts compel us to say that he created the people of Israel.

If it be asked why, when the tenth commandment involves so searching a view of human duty on the part of the legislator, the other commandments should move along the lower and easier level of external actions, the answer must be that legislation, in the main, can take cognisance only of externals. The Decalogue forbids the wronging of the neighbour, but the real ethical temper of the legislator is illustrated by that commandment which forbids the wronging of him even in thought, and which is therefore the crown, and, in a sense, the secret of the whole.

It is pointed out, however, that even though the pro-

[1] Cf. Wildeboer, quoted by König, *Die Gottesfrage und der Ursprung des Alt. Test.*, p. 32: "I cannot declare myself in agreement with dogmatic considerations, borrowed from a scheme based upon an evolutionary standpoint."

hibition of covetousness be not incompatible with a Mosaic origin, the word "house" in the presumably original form of the commandment stamps it as late, and as implying the settled life of Canaan, no less surely than the expansion of the fourth commandment and the word "field" in the Deuteronomic version of the tenth commandment imply the agricultural experience of later days. It is not enough to point out that "house" here need not mean a building, but just as probably refers to a man's domestic establishment in general, defined more particularly in the words that follow; for it could not have had the broader meaning without first denoting the single concrete thing called בית. But at this time the word may have been "a general term meaning 'abode,' and have included (as in Arabic) tents as well as houses." [1] This is the interpretation put upon the word in Genesis xxvii. 15 (cf. xxx. 17) by the *Oxford Dictionary*,[2] which remarks that it is occasionally used "in J of a tent (here of a nomad's hut)." Apart from this broader, but apparently quite legitimate sense, the word may have its ordinary meaning, if we accept the practically certain view that there was a more or less permanent settlement at Kadesh.

Neither, therefore, the word "house" nor the word "covet" obliges us to withdraw the tenth commandment from Moses.

J. E. McFadyen.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

A PARAPHRASE.

Chapter I.

1–5. To the churches in "*Galatia*" from all the brethren here with me, and from myself Paul, a man sent by Christ

[1] S. R. Driver, *Exodus*, p. 415. [2] P. 108, 2nd column.

—for it was by no mere human commission corporate or individual that I was called to go out and preach, but by Christ Himself, and God the Father who so triumphantly vindicated Him by the Resurrection.

May there come to you the blessing of peace from God our Father, and from Jesus Christ our Master, who gave Himself to bring us deliverance, deliverance from sin, deliverance from the tyranny of evil which besets us here. Such was the will of God, verily our Father. Therefore unto the ages of the ages let us laud and magnify His glorious name with universal consent.

6–9. It astonishes me that you can think of making such a sudden volte-face, forsaking one, whose scheme of salvation centred in *Grace brought by Christ*, to adopt another scheme (I cannot call it another message of *good* news) which represents nothing more nor less than the cruel interference of certain persons who deliberately aim at a complete perversion of the Christ-Gospel.

Now if anyone should come offering salvation through any other means than that which we proclaimed to you, whoever he be, were he one of our very selves, were he even a being from another sphere, I say "woe unto him." We said this when first we preached to you, and I repeat it now, if anyone tries to convince you that there is any other way than that which you heard and accepted, woe unto him, woe unto that man.

10–12. For it is not any man I must regard, but God. I am not careful to please men: if I were doing that, I should no longer be the loyal Servant of Christ. *Christ* gave to me the Gospel which I preach: the message which I brought to you did not come to me from man; no man gave it me, no man taught it me. Christ Himself inspired me and revealed it to me.

(That it involved a complete break with my old life; that my

conversion and commission came to me directly from God, and were in no way connected with my fellow-men, is clear from the story of my life.)

13–14. For you must have been told of the line I took in the days when I was devoted to Judaism: what a bitter persecutor I was of God's Christian Church, and how I harried it; and indeed in my zeal for Traditionalism I went further ahead in Judaism than most of the men of my time.

15–17. And then when the moment came when it pleased God, who from the day of my birth had selected me to fulfil His purpose, and through His Grace made me feel this vocation, when GOD, I say, chose to give me the clear and living inner conviction about His Son, in order that I might declare His honour among the heathen, I felt no need to talk it over with any man; I felt no necessity even to go up to Jerusalem to those first-commissioned ones: I went straight off to Arabia, and then back to Damascus.

18–20. It was not till three years had elapsed that I went up to Jerusalem to talk to Cephas, and I stayed a fortnight with him. I did not, however, on that occasion see any other member of the Holy Company, except James, the Lord's "adelphos." I declare solemnly this is the true account of my movements. After this I went to the districts of Syria and Cilicia.

21–24. The Christian congregations in Judæa never saw me: they only heard about me, "that he who used to hunt us down is now proclaiming the very creed he tried to overthrow," and they "glorified" God on my account.

CHAPTER II.

1–2. Then, about the fourteenth year, I went up to Jerusalem again with Barnabas, and I took Titus also with me. Here again it was a revelation, an impulse from the

Spirit, that led me to go: and I put before the men of esteem there the good news in the form in which I present it to the heathen. I asked their private opinion lest I might be taking or have already taken steps which would cripple the work.

3. As my companion Titus was not a Jew, circumcision was not insisted on in his case.

4. But all the trouble came from those men falsely brought in as brethren, who had only crept in to criticise us and to substitute for that perfect Freedom in Christ, which is loving Service, the old set of rules and observances, the fetters of a slave.

5. To such people we could not give in or yield for one moment. It would have meant your losing the Gospel's most precious and vital truth.

6–10. But as to those who were held in high authority, (though I do not personally lay stress on the fact of a man's being held as an authority, "reputation" is nothing before God:) these authorities, I say, *laid nothing further upon me:* so far from laying commands upon me, they realised that to preach the Gospel to those who were not accustomed to circumcision was quite as much a distinct vocation given to me, as to help the orthodox Jews was a commission to Peter, for there was the same Power inspiring us both for our several work; and as soon as they saw that this Grace was given to me, at once James, Cephas and John whom all recognise as the very foundation-pillars of the Faith, the very Rock on which the Church is built, gave to me and to Barnabas their right hands in token of fellowship and approval, bidding us God-speed in our foreign mission, while they themselves would work at home. One thing only they stipulated, that we should not forget the poor of the Mother Church, the very thing upon which I set my heart.

11–14. But when Cephas came to Antioch his behaviour stood so clearly self-condemned, that I remonstrated with him personally. For until certain persons came from James, he had been in the habit of eating with Gentiles; but no sooner did they arrive than he drew back and held himself aloof, for fear of offending the old caste-prejudice of the Circumcised. Whereupon the other Jewish Christians also followed his inconsistent example, and even Barnabas was influenced by their somewhat opportunist methods. So, as soon as I saw that their vacillation was in danger of obscuring the true spirit of the Gospel, I said to Cephas before them all, "I cannot believe that you, who, although yourself Jew-born, have not scrupled to join the Gentiles in common meals, are now retracting, thereby giving the impression that non-Jewish converts can only hope to become fully-approved Christians by conforming absolutely to strictly Jewish ways, and performing all the routine-works of the Law.

15–16. You see, we know now perfectly well that these routine works by law-direction are not sufficient for salvation, even for us who were brought up in that system, and not outside it like the "out-law Gentiles," as our fathers scornfully called them: we know now, I say, that, even for us, privileged as we thought ourselves, prescribed duties brought no real re-assurance, and that nothing avails but Faith in Christ. So we surrendered ourselves to absolute trust in Christ; for there is no other Way by which men can be saved; (they can never be saved by mere obedience to rules—no human being can ever attain perfect holiness in God's sight only by doing what authority dictates.)

17. But if it is now found that in our quest for salvation in Christ, we have been erring from the true Path, what is that but to say that we have been misled by following Christ? which, of course, is unthinkable.

18. And again, if I am now going to resume once more legalist methods, it is tantamount to acknowledging that I was erring when I gave them up (to follow Christ instead).

19-20. Why it was my experience of the Law that made mere law become a dead thing to me, and drove me to God for real *Life*. This I found in sharing the Death of Christ, His Death and His Life also. The spirit of the living Christ verily lives in me.

As for my human life, it is now lived not under law, but under faith, the Christ-faith, conscious dependence on that strong Son of God, Who in His immortal love made Himself a willing offering for my sake.

21. So I cannot treat as nothing this wonderful goodness of God, nor, by looking to *Law* for the perfecting of human nature, thereby tacitly admit that *Christ's Death* was superfluous.

CHAPTER III. 1. And you, to whom this Death of Christ has been so vividly brought home, tell me, you blinded Galatians, what evil eye has intercepted your gaze, and by its malign influence caused you to look away from the Christ lifted up upon the Cross.

CHAPTER III.

1. And you, to whom this Death of Christ had been so vividly brought home, tell me, you duped Galatians, what baleful influence has thus perverted you, *to substitute for inward trust in Christ's redeeming Death reliance on an outward code?*

2. Was it an outward code, tell me, which brought you that miraculous gift of Holy Spirit *so visibly manifested in you*, or *was it something quite different*, the opening of your hearts to the influence of a burning FAITH? *There is no need to ask, you know it was Faith.*

3. And can you be thus foolish—having made so glorious

a beginning, your whole life guided by Spirit, to make so miserable an end, relying solely on mere outward law. *Surely you cannot so decline.*

4. Then think how you have suffered for the Faith! Is all that too to have been wasted? I cannot believe it.

5–6. And so, I ask you again, does He Who gives you Holy Spirit, and acts so powerfully WITHIN you, do all this for you because you have done just what Law bade? or is it not because you opened your hearts to the new influence when you heard of it? Surely that was what Abraham did. He just listened to and obeyed the Voice of God, and God was pleased with him and made him feel it.

7. *Abraham then stands for Faith.* Be sure of this therefore, those are most closely related to Abraham, *the man of Faith*, in whom his spirituality, his "Faith," are reproduced.

8. And so in that passage of Holy Scripture, recorded by inspired men to whom God vouchsafed a distant vision of the bringing-in of "the world outside the Covenant" by means of FAITH, there is a forehint of the universality and the principle of our Gospel message itself: for it speaks of that great Promise made to Abraham, "There shall be virtue and blessing for ALL the world in you and *your example of Faith*"; and this can only mean that those who share the FAITH of Abraham shall also share his BLESSING.

10. But so far from offering BLESSING, your Law but threatens with a CURSE, (*it is as a sword of Damocles ever hanging over you,*) for it tells you "A curse awaits every man who fails to keep and to observe every detail of this written code of laws."

11–12. Surely it is clear that no one can find perfect acceptance with God by merely carrying out a set of rules imposed by outward authority. No, Habakkuk warns us, "it is FAITH that should be the life and mainspring of

the goodness of a man." But your "Law" does not demand Faith, *nor inner rightness of spirit, but only outward conformity.* It simply tells you "your days shall be long in the land if you observe all these things to do them."

13–14. *But what if you cannot!* It is from *this shadow of dismal failure and* the curse that is linked with Law, that Christ has come to deliver us: and He accomplished this by "*somehow*" taking the curse on Himself to help us: for one of the Law's curses was directed on such as die a death like His: that curse He endured, in order that the world might receive a blessing: in order that Faith centred in Him, Christ Jesus, should bring to all the world, irrespective of the Law, the blessing given to Abraham because of Faith; in order, that is to say, that on all who put their trust in His Son, God should bestow the Promised blessing of His Spirit.

In order, I say, that God might give us His Spirit, the blessing of the Promise: for that this PROMISE *was in fact the original and essential element in God's Purpose, before ever the Law was introduced, I must now prove to you.*

15–16. My brothers, let me give an illustration from ordinary human practice. A man makes a disposition by will: now it is a recognised thing, that when once it is ratified, no one can set it aside, or even add anything to it. Now by God's will the promises were made to Abraham and his Seed: (And, parenthetically, may I suggest to you that in the use here of a collective noun, instead of one that might denote individuals, there may be a foreshadowing that the promises were to be fulfilled in ONE who was to come, namely Christ, *in whom all are One.*)

17. But to resume: *if, as I said, a covenant or a will, even amongst men, when once ratified cannot be annulled later,* it is unthinkable that the Covenant which God had already definitely made, containing the Promise made by

His Will, could possibly be superseded or annulled by the Law which came 430 years later!

18. *And annulled it would have been, if the blessing of salvation, that is* the inheritance, now proves to be dependent on the Law, for then it can hardly be said to be the result of a Promise: whereas to Abraham God had beforehand made a free grant of it by Promise.

19–20. *If the Law then could not bring this inheritance, this blessing of Salvation,* what purpose did it serve? It was introduced later, necessitated by human failings, *to bridle the unruly,* (*or, to arouse in men's hearts the consciousness of sin, and their need of deliverance,*) till Abraham's great Son should come, in whom the Promise *of being the Bringer of the Blessing* (*of Deliverance*) *to all the world* should be fulfilled.

And the Law plainly stood on an inferior level to the direct Promise; it was not given directly by God like an inward assurance, but, as I said before, necessitated by human failings, it came indirectly through God's ministers, and through Moses, who as intermediary gave it to the people: whereas in the case of a direct Promise, any idea of an intermediary is excluded. There is just the One who makes the Promise: in this case it was God.

21. *But because the Law is thus of different rank,* does it follow that it is in opposition to the Promise? *No, there is no real interference or conflict between them.* Law was never able to give that Life *of the Spirit which is essential for holiness and salvation:* could it have done that, it WOULD have been sufficient to make men holy, and acceptable to God.

22. But, *so far from Law having brought the world this life-giving Spirit which would produce holiness,* Scripture includes the whole world as being under the bondage of sin, so that *the only way of Release was that* there might come

the fulfilment at last of the Great Promise, *that is that the promised gift of the Spirit which should bring Life and Freedom and the blessing of Salvation should be given* to those who put their trust in Jesus the Messiah THROUGH THEIR FAITH.

23–24. But before the coming of *this inner principle*, this Faith *in Christ*, the Law just acted as a warder, keeping us, *who were, so to say, under age*, in a state of bondage or pupillage, till the time when this Faith should be revealed. That is to say, the Law has been *a kind of Child's Guide*, a stern but trusty servant, to lead us to the School of Christ, where one day we should learn to walk by Faith, and so to grow holy and acceptable to God.

25. Now that this Faith has come to us, we have outgrown the Usher.

26. For now *no longer tutored wards, but promoted to the dignity of Sons of God*, ye have all attained to full Sonship, *by virtue of your incorporation* in Christ Jesus through Faith.

27–29. For all of you who have accepted Christ in Baptism *are in such close union with Him, so one with Him, that* ye are merged in Him, He covers you all *as with one enfolding garment:* so that all differences of nationality, class, or even sex, now disappear: all share a common life. And if ye thus are verily part of Christ, through Him you have spiritual kinship with Abraham *the man of Faith*, and so you have the right to succeed to the glorious inheritance bequeathed by the Great Promise.

BERNARD H. TOWER.

THE DESCENT INTO HADES AND CHRISTIAN BAPTISM.

(A Study of 1 Peter iii. 19 ff.)

1. In Hebrew and early Christian cosmogonies, the earth was conceived as a disc surrounded by, and resting upon, underlying waters of vast extent and depth, which were called *tĕhôm* or the *abyss*.[1] God had "spread forth the earth above the waters"[2] at the beginning; He had "founded it upon the seas and established it upon the floods."[3] From these "waters under the earth"[4] all springs and rivers welled up. Fertilising streams are called "the blessings of the deep that coucheth beneath."[5] Or, as the Book of Enoch has it, "The earth was founded upon the water, and from the secret recesses of the mountains come beautiful waters from the creation of the world unto eternity."[6] And, according to the Priest's Code, the devastation of Noah's flood was caused not only by "the windows of heaven being opened," but by the bursting forth of the "fountains of the great deep" (*αἱ πηγαὶ τῆς ἀβύσσου*).[7] This idea continually reappears. For example, in the Book of Enoch we read: "He shewed me the angels of punishment who are prepared to come and let loose all the powers of the waters which are beneath the earth in order to bring judgment and destruction on all who live on the earth."[8] That is, the Flood was an eruption of

[1] Cp. Deut. xxxiii. 13; Prov. iii. 20; viii. 24; Amos vii. 4.
[2] Ps. cxxxvi. 6. [3] Ps. xxiv. 2. [4] Exod. xx. 4.
[5] Gen xlix. 25. [6] Enoch lxix. 17.
[7] Gen. vii. 11. [8] Enoch lxvi. 1; cp. lxxxix. 3.

the abysmal waters, and its subsidence is described in the Book of Jubilees [1] by saying that "the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the water began to descend into the deep below." We gather, then, from these passages that the abysmal waters were counted mysterious and terrible, as agents of destruction.

2. Next, it appears that these "depths" are the dwelling-place of great monsters, who are dangerous to men, and whom none but God can control.[2] And in the New Testament the "abyss" is regarded as the home of demons and evil spirits. Thus the devils in Luke viii. 31 besought Christ "that He would not command them to depart into the Abyss." This idea lingered long. "Quae est abyssus?" Origen asks in reference to this last passage, and he answers: "Illa nimirum in qua erit diabolus et angeli ejus." And, again, commenting on Genesis i. 2, he says of the "waters under the earth": "Ea aqua quae subtus est, id est, aqua abyssi, in qua tenebrae esse dicuntur, in qua princeps hujus mundi et adversarius draco et angeli ejus habitant." [3]

So, too, the Beast of the Apocalypse came out of the Abyss [4]; and it is noteworthy that he arose from the sea,[5] which is, as it were, the surface of the Abyss. It is represented as entered by a well (φρέαρ), the mouth of which is kept under lock and key.[6]

3. We now recall the idea, widespread in the ancient literature of both Semites and Greeks, that Hades or the Underworld is connected with the earth by a waterway. Thus, according to Dr. Charles, "Aralû, the Babylonian Sheol, is a mighty palace, situated under the earth, in the depths of the mountain Aralû. It is approached by the great Ocean into which the sun dips at evening." [7] And

[1] v. 29; cp. vi. 26. [2] Gen. i. 21; 2 Esdr. vi. 51.
[3] Lommatzsch viii. 106, 108. [4] Rev. xi. 7; xvii. 8.
[5] Rev. xiii. 1. [6] Rev. ix. 1. [7] *Eschatology*, p. 34 n.

Dr. Cheyne, commenting on Psalm xviii. 4, "the floods of Sheol," traces the expression to Babylonian mythology. "Even if, O Gilgames, thou didst cross the sea, what wouldest thou do on arriving at the waters of death?" [1] In Greek mythology, it was commonly held in like manner that the Ocean separated the visible world from Hades, and that it must first be passed by those journeying into the unseen.[2]

4. Similarly, it was a Jewish belief that of the three gates to the Underworld of punishment, one was a gate in the *sea*,[3] this being justified by an appeal to the opening words of Jonah's prayer: "From the belly of hell (ἐκ κοιλίας ᾅδου) I cried." [4] The whale's belly was, as it were, the entrance to Hades. Thus the saying that "As Jonah was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth" [5] had a special suggestiveness to the early readers of St. Matthew's Gospel. The parallel is not only in the "three days and three nights"; for behind the saying is the conception that the place of Jonah's terror was the vestibule of Hades.

Irenaeus has something more to say about the type of Jonah, which, although far-fetched, is apposite here. He has been speaking of God's longsuffering in dealing with Jonah, and he proceeds: "Sic et ab initio fuit patiens Deus hominem absorberi a magno ceto, qui fuit auctor praevaricationis, non ut absorptus in totum periret, sed praestruens et praeparans adinventionem salutis, quae facta est a Verbo per signum Jonae." [6] That is, Irenaeus

[1] Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms*, i. 67, citing Jeremias' *Vorstellungen*, p. 86 f. [2] Cp. *Odyssey*, x. 508 f., xi. 21 f.

[3] Erubin 19*a*. The other gates were in *Jerusalem* (Isa. xxxi. 9), and in the *wilderness*, where the earth opened and swallowed up Korah's company, κατέβησαν αὐτοὶ καὶ ὅσα ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ζῶντα εἰς ᾅδου (Num. xvi. 33).

[4] Jonah ii. 2. [5] Matt. xii. 40. [6] *Adv. Haer.* III. xx. 1.

regards the whale or marine monster as the type of Satan, who could swallow up mankind. Here we have the idea of the Spirit of Evil as resident in "the deep," an idea deep-rooted in Semitic thought, and behind the Dragon myth which has been so fully (perhaps excessively) elaborated by Gunkel in his *Schöpfung und Chaos.*

5. What has been said is sufficient to illustrate the familiar belief of antiquity that the Abyss or Hades is a place approached by deep waters, the abode of mysterious powers of evil. This is the abode of departed souls. "They that are deceased tremble, beneath the waters and the inhabitants thereof." [1] It was into "the abyss" that Christ went after His Passion, according to St. Paul.[2]

The ancient systems of cosmogony must not be expected to be complete and consistent at every point, and probably the situation of Hades was not very exactly conceived. Passages occur which would suggest that Sheol was in the bosom of the solid earth itself,[3] although they are not explicit. This conception was formulated in the second century by Tertullian. He says that he does not hold with Plato that the lower regions are a kind of open cesspool, but rather that they are like a deep hidden recess in the bowels of the earth, superimposed on the abysses which are yet lower down.[4] And in like manner, in the fourth century, Hilary distinguishes the abode of the dead, which is *intra terram,* from the abode of spiritual beings who live *infra terram,* there being many inhabitants of this "infernal region and vast abyss." [5]

[1] Job xxvi. 5. [2] Rom. x. 7.

[3] Cf. Ps. lxiii. 9; lxxi. 20; lxxxvi. 13; Ezek. xxvi. 20.

[4] Nobis inferi non nuda cavositas nec subdivalis aliqua mundi sentina creduntur, sed in fossa terrae et in alto vastitas et in ipsis visceribus ejus abstrusa profunditas, siquidem Christo in corde terrae triduum mortis legimus expunctum, id est in recesso intimo et interno et ex ipsa terra operto et intra ipsam clauso et inferioribus adhuc abyssis superstructo (*de anima* 55). [5] *In Ps.* II. p. 50.

It is doubtful, however, if this doctrine that Sheol was actually within the bowels of the solid earth [1] is implied in the Biblical literature ; and in any case it is not necessary for my present purpose to inquire closely into so curious a point.[2] What I wish to bring out is that, so far as the situation of Sheol or Hades was pictured in the imagination it was held by the Jews and early Christians to be connected with the abysmal waters under the earth ; that all rivers and springs welled up from, and communicated with this place of darkness and dread ; and that it was the dwelling-place of evil spirits. Such conceptions were not, of course, only of Semitic origin. The belief, e.g., that wells are the haunts of spirits, malignant or propitious, is worldwide, and is found in all folk-lore.

6. I have noted elsewhere [3] the influence which the idea that rivers and wells communicate with the home of evil spirits has had upon the baptismal rites of the early Church. The connexion of exorcism with baptism is probably related to this. But more particularly the curious fact should be noticed that the Eastern baptismal rituals all imply the belief that the waters of Jordan were terrified when Christ entered them for baptism. In them are recited from the Psalms such phrases as the following : " The waters saw thee, O God, the waters saw thee and they were afraid ; the depths also trembled " [4] ; or " The sea saw it and fled ; Jordan was driven back " [5] ; or " The voice of the Lord is upon the waters." [6] These phrases

[1] See for a diagram the article " Cosmogony " in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, I. 503.

[2] It is elaborately discussed by Ussher, *Works*, III. 377 f.

[3] *The Odes of Solomon* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 33 f.

[4] Ps. lxxvii. 16, εἶδοσάν σε ὕδατα καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ ἐταράχθησαν ἄβυσσοι. Also quoted in one of Ephraim's Hymns about Baptism (*Epiph. Hymns*, xiv. 31).

[5] Ps. cxiv. 2. Hippolytus (*de Theoph.* 3) quotes this in reference to the Baptism of Christ.

[6] Ps. xxix. 3.

were supposed to be prophetic of the fear inspired by the Coming of Christ to the Jordan. Indeed, this notion is not peculiar to the rituals of baptism. It is also found in Christian art, as Mr. C. F. Rogers has shown.[1] In more than one representation of the Baptism of Christ, Jordan is depicted allegorically in the water below as starting away in astonished fear.

Further, to primitive Christian thought, demons and evil spirits were scared away at Christ's baptism, and at the baptism of all Christians. Origen, commenting on the words cited above from Psalm lxxvii. 16, *ἐταράχθησαν ἄβυσσοι*, explains them in his allegorical manner, thus: *αἱ ἄβυσσοι· τὰς καταχθονίους δυνάμεις δηλοῦσιν, αἵτινες ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ Χριστοῦ ἐταράχθησαν*, i.e., the powers of the underworld were terrified at the presence of Christ in the water. And there is a prayer in more than one baptismal *Ordo* that the demon of darkness may be put to flight, "neque delitescat in aquis istis tenebrosus demon."[2]

7. We are now in a position to appreciate the stress that was laid in the first Christian centuries on the parallel first instituted by St. Paul between Christ's Descent into Hades, and the Christian's descent into the baptismal waters. "All we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into His death. We were buried therefore with Him through baptism into death . . . if we have become united with Him by the likeness of His death, we shall be also by the likeness of His resurrection."[3] Baptism was pictured as the Likeness of Christ's death, and Christian imagination dwelt on this thought and pursued it in detail, in the early history of the Church, after a fashion which it is an effort to us to understand. Chrysostom's commentary on Colos-

[1] "Baptism and Christian Archaeology" in *Studia Bibl. et Eccl.* v. 4, p. 290 f.

[2] See Denzinger, *Rit. Orient.* I. 306, 275.

[3] Rom. vi. 3–5.

sians ii. 12 f. illustrates what I mean. St. Paul says that having been buried with Christ in baptism, we are raised with Him through faith in God who raised Him from the dead, and that we are thus quickened with Christ, who made a show of principalities and powers after His Passion. Now Chrysostom fastens on this last thought. The "principalities" over which Christ triumphed are the diabolical powers, which lost their power over the dead when Christ died on the Cross. "Never was the devil in so shameful a plight. For whilst expecting to have Him, he lost even those he had; and when that Body was nailed to the Cross, the dead arose." That is, Chrysostom applies the words of Colossians ii. 15 to Christ's Descent into Hades and the spoliation of the infernal powers which He was believed to have effected there. Then he goes on to speak of the baptism of a catechumen, as comparable in some sort to the making of Adam. It is a new creation. "He is formed in the waters, he receiveth spirit instead of a soul (ἀντίψυχον πνεῦμα)." As Adam was "made a living *soul*" so the newly baptized receives a *spirit*. "And after he is formed, He bringeth to him not beasts [over which Adam was given dominion] but devils and their prince, and saith, *Tread upon serpents and scorpions*." This is the same idea that we have already (§ 6) found in one of the early baptismal rites, viz., that in Christian baptism evil demons are scared away and subdued.

8. The parallelism between Baptism and Christ's Descent into Hades was drawn out by many writers besides Chrysostom, and in several directions. For instance, both were described as leading up to a release of prisoners from captivity.

Baptism was, of course, a deliverance from the bondage of sin. It is αἰχμαλώτοις λύτρον, says Cyril of Jerusalem.[1]

[1] *Procat.* 16; cf. Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* xl. 3.

Ephraim Syrus sings, "Bondmen in my baptism are set free"; [1] "blessed be He who has annulled the bonds." [2] And, in the West, a fourth-century writer, Pacian of Barcelona, urges that we are "freed from our bonds when, through the sacrament of baptism, we come to the Sign of the Lord." [3] To quote an earlier testimony of somewhat special significance, Barnabas [4] says that we have a prediction of baptism in the words of Isaiah xlv. 2, 3, "I will go before thee and level mountains and crush gates of brass and break in pieces bolts of iron."

Now perhaps the most conspicuous element in early Christian belief as to Christ's Descent into Hades was that thereby captive souls were delivered. The purpose of that Descent was that the prisoners might be freed. As Cyril says [5]: *κατῆλθεν εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια, ἵνα κἀκεῖθεν λυτρώσηται τοὺς δικαίους.* The Keepers of the gates of Hades, according to the *Gospel of Nicodemus*—one of the best known pieces of Christian folklore—were scared when Christ arrived, an idea connected with the Greek text of Job xxxviii. 17.

> *ἀνοίγονται δὲ σοι φόβῳ πύλαι θανάτου·*
> *πυλωροὶ δὲ ᾅδου ἰδόντες σε ἔπτηξαν.*

The *Gospel of Nicodemus* proceeds [6]: "Et ecce subito infernus contremuit, et portae mortis et serae comminutae et vectes ferrei confracti sunt et ceciderunt in terram," i.e., the brazen gates and iron bars of Hades were broken, a reminiscence of Isaiah xlv. 2 (cf. Ps. cvii. 16) which (as I have just now pointed out) is quoted by Barnabas as predictive of baptism.

And an earlier witness to the same idea is Origen, who thus comments on Psalm lxviii. 18: *οὕτω τὴν κατάβασιν*

[1] *Epiphany Hymns*, xiv. 38. [2] *Hymns on the Nativity*, xv. 9.
[3] *De Bapt.* 8. [4] § 11.
[5] Cat. iv. 11. [6] B. viii (24).

τοῦ σωτῆρος δείξας, καὶ τὴν τῶν δαιμονίων κατάλυσιν, δείκνυσιν αὐτὸν ἀνίοντα καὶ τοὺς πρὶν αἰχμαλώτους ἐλευθερώσαντα.

9. Again the issue of this deliverance from captivity was described in similar terms in both cases. The story of the "Harrowing of Hell," in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, goes on to tell how the delivered saints come forth from Hades with Christ and are led into Paradise. So the cognate thought that in baptism we are restored to Paradise, i.e., to that state of innocence from which Adam fell, the guilt of sin being annulled, is common in the Fathers. For example, Origen, commenting on Genesis ii. 8, *ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ*, says, "those who are regenerated through divine baptism are placed in Paradise," i.e. the Church. So Gregory of Nyssa exclaims, "The Jordan is glorified by regenerating men, and planting them in the Paradise of God." [1] Cyril says that to the baptized "is opened the Paradise of God." [2] "How can you enter into Paradise unless you are sealed in baptism?" is a rhetorical question put by Basil.[3] "He opens for you His door and bids you enter Eden" is a verse of Ephraim's Hymn of the Baptized. I have given some other illustrations in my edition of the *Odes of Solomon*, but these may suffice to establish the point here.

10. There is a passage in the *Shepherd of Hermas* [4] which brings together the topics of Hades and of Baptism in a curious manner. A parable is told of the building of a tower, which typifies the Church at rest. All the stones which form the foundations of the tower are taken from "a certain deep place" (*ἐκ βυθοῦ τινός*), i.e. the Underworld, and there are four tiers, of 10, 25, 35, and 40 stones respectively. The lowest tier of 10 stones represents the

[1] *Sermo de Christi baptismo.*
[2] Cat. xix. 9; cf. i. 4 and *Procat.* 15.
[3] Hom. xiii. 2.
[4] *Sim.* ix. 3, 15, 16.

first race of men, i.e. from Adam to Noah,[1] and "the 25 are the second generation of just men," i.e. from Noah to David.[2] "The 35 are God's prophets and ministers; the 40 are apostles and teachers of the preaching of the Son of God." All alike had "to rise up through water that they might be quickened" (δι' ὕδατος ἀναβῆναι, ἵνα ζωοποιηθῶσιν), the seal of baptism being needed for all. Now the "apostles and teachers" differed from the rest in that they had been baptized before they passed into the Underworld; but, when there, "after they had fallen asleep in the power and faith of the Son of God, preached also to them that had fallen asleep before them, and themselves gave unto them the seal of the preaching." That is, Hermas, while not speaking of the Descent of Christ into Hades, finds a mission there for the apostles and teachers of the Christian dispensation, viz., that they might evangelize and baptize the prae-Christian saints, so that they, too, might "be quickened."

The Tower, which is the Church, is built of stones which represent both the dead and the living; and "it is built upon waters, because your life is saved and shall be saved by water."[3] Baptism, to the thought of Hermas, is needed for all, and the prae-Christian saints received its seal in Hades. It is also to be noticed that the base upon which the whole building is erected, the lowest tier of its foundation, is the race of men before Noah.

11. We shall see the appositeness of this, when we come to discuss the famous passage in 1 Peter (iii. 19 f.). But next, we must recall a passage from Irenaeus, which shows that Hermas does not stand alone in his notion of a baptism in Hades, with its consequent "quickening" of the spirit.

[1] I have inadvertently written 'Adam to Abraham,' and 'Abraham to Moses' in my article *Descent into Hades* in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Apostolic Age*. Adam . . Noah . . David: these are the critical points in the history, for Hermas.

[2] These numbers agree with the genealogical tables in Luke iii.

[3] *Vis.* iii. 3.

He is speaking of Christ's Descent to the Underworld. "Primogenitus enim mortuorum natus dominus, et in sinum suum recipiens pristinos patres, *regeneravit eos in vitam dei* . . . hic illos in evangelium vitae regeneravit." [1] The idea of *regeneration* is not far removed from that of *baptism*, although Irenaeus is not so fanciful as Hermas.

We come round again, then, to the association in ancient Christian thought between what may be called the folklore of the Descent into Hades and that of Baptism. But the connexion of the two ideas, as we have seen, goes back to St. Paul, and they are brought together by more than one subsequent writer. Chrysostom explicitly speaks of our baptism as a reflection or imitation of Christ's Descent. "For the being baptized and immersed and then emerging is a symbol of the Descent into Hell, and the return thence." [2] A later testimony, for the West, to the same comparison is provided by Canon 6 of the Fourth Council of Toledo (633 A.D.), "In aquis mersio, quasi in infernum descensio est."

Indeed, one of the reasons that used to be assigned for the custom of triple immersion in baptism was that thus was recalled the "three days and three nights" that Christ spent "in the heart of the earth." We have this explained by Gregory of Nyssa in his sermon on Christ's baptism, and also by Cyril of Jerusalem very explicitly: *κατεδύετε τρίτον εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀνεδύετε παλιν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα διὰ συμβόλου τὴν τριήμερον τοῦ Χριστοῦ αἰνιττόμενοι ταφήν*, "hinting by a symbol at the three days' burial of Christ." [3]

12. We have constantly to bear in mind that in the early Christian ages the belief in Christ's Descent into Hades occupied a much more conspicuous place than it does in our modern days. We acquiesce in this article of

[1] *Adv. Haer.* iii. 22. 4.

[2] Hom. xl. in 1 Cor.: *τὸ γὰρ βαπτίζεσθαι καὶ καταδύεσθαι, εἶτα ἀναγεύειν, τὴν εἰς ᾅδου καταβάσεως ἐστι σύμβολον, καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἀνόδου κ.τ.λ.* See § 15. below.

[3] *Cat. Myst.* xx. 4.

the Creed, as expressing that our Lord was truly man in His death as in His life, and that His spirit underwent experiences after death like to those which we shall share. He "went" to the place of departed souls. But of any mission which He fulfilled there, we think but little. Now in the first Christian centuries the nature of this mission was much discussed. That a great purpose was fulfilled by Christ's Descent to Hades was agreed by all, and controversy arose only as to the scope of His ministry there, some confining it to Jews, others to Gentiles, some to the just, others to the unjust, among those who had departed. But there was no question of its importance, and of its direct connexion with the purpose for which Christ died. Irenaeus, for instance, regards the Passion as having been endured in order that Christ might fulfil a ministry among the dead. He quotes a prophecy, the exact source of which cannot now be ascertained, of Christ's Descent to Hades, and explains it thus: "Alii autem dicentes: 'Rememoratus est dominus sanctus mortuorum suorum, qui praedormierunt in terra limi et descendit ad eos, uti erigeret, ad salvandum illos, *causam* reddiderunt, *propter quam passus est* haec omnia." [1] That is, the cause of Christ's death was, directly, that He might minister to the dead.

Origen says the same thing. His comment on St. Paul's words, "To this end Christ died and rose again, that He might be Lord both of the dead and the living," [2] is that they signify that Jesus died that He might be Lord of the dead, while He rose again to be Lord, not only of the dead, but of the living.[3] And, again, his interpretation of the words of Psalm iii. 6, "I laid me down and slept and rose up again," leads him by devious paths to the conclusion that Christ effected much more for the salvation of souls by

[1] *Adv. Haer.* iv. 33. 12.
[2] Rom. xiv. 9. [3] *Contra Celsum*, ii. 65.

the separation of His soul from His body than would otherwise have been accomplished. And then he quotes in further proof 1 Peter iii. 19 ff., the passage which it is the main purpose of this paper to examine afresh. The point which I wish to bring out in this paragraph is the intimate connexion which early Christian reflection found between the Sufferings of Christ and His Ministry in Hades.

13. I now proceed to examine 1 Peter iii. 19 f., and first we must set down a brief synopsis of the argument of the Epistle as a whole. The writer is addressing those who are in danger of persecution and who may be called to suffer.

I. "Remember that you have an eternal inheritance, though you are sorely tried (i. 4–6). Concerning your salvation, the prophets testified, in dim forecasts of the sufferings of Christ and the glory following (i. 10–12). Be sober and loving (i. 13, 22). You are an elect people (i. 13–ii. 11). You are reviled, but when at last they see your good works, your revilers will glorify God in a day of visitation (ii. 12). Submit yourselves to the civil power (ii. 13–18).

II. Slaves, *it is acceptable with God if you suffer wrongfully* (ii. 19, 20). Christ suffered thus, as our example, committing Himself to the righteous Judge (ii. 21–23); and also that we, having died to sin, might live to righteousness (ii. 24).

Wives, be subject to your heathen husbands (iii. 1–6).

Husbands, honour your wives (iii. 7).

Let all be loving and forbearing, not rendering reviling for reviling (iii. 8 f.). Hurt cannot really injure the righteous (iii. 13).

III. *It is acceptable with God, if you suffer wrongfully* (iii. 14–17). Christ suffered thus, the righteous for the unrighteous, that He might bring us to God. He was put to death in the flesh, but was quickened in the spirit (iii. 18).

In the spirit, He preached to the spirits in prison (iii. 19),
the disobedient in Noah's day, when
only eight escaped through water (iii. 20).
So baptism saves *you*
through the Resurrection of the same Christ, Who
has gone to heaven, having subdued angels and
authorities and powers (iii. 21).

So, as Christ suffered, do you take your sufferings in the same way (iv. 1). He that has suffered has ceased from sin (iv. 2), and the purpose of suffering is that you may henceforth live to God (iv. 3, 4). To God, your revilers shall give account (iv. 5). It was for this very reason that the Gospel was preached even to the dead, that having been judged in the flesh, they might live to God in the spirit (iv. 6).

IV. The end is near. Be sober and loving (iv. 7–11). Let not suffering disconcert you (iv. 12). You are thus partakers of Christ's sufferings (iv. 13).

It is acceptable with God if you suffer wrongfully (iv. 14–16). The judgment of the unrighteous will be much more severe than that of the righteous (iv. 17, 18). When you suffer, commit yourself to God (iv. 19).

V. I, a witness of Christ's sufferings, tell you this (v. 1). Feed the flock (v. 2 f.). Humble yourselves before God that He may exalt you (v. 6). The devil is ready: resist him (v. 8). The same sufferings are shared by your brethren (v. 9). After suffering, God will perfect you (v. 10).

The above conspectus [1] is not exhaustive, as some important matters (parenthetically introduced) have been omitted, in order that the main argument might be more clearly exhibited. The First Epistle of Peter is a letter of counsel and consolation, setting forth the Christian philosophy of

[1] A complete analysis of the Epistle is given by Bishop Chase in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iii. 792.

pain. Three times is the main thesis repeated, viz., that to suffer patiently, when innocent, for conscience sake, is acceptable with God. This is to imitate the example of Christus Patiens. The disciple is not above his Master. And the writer suggests that suffering in the case of the righteous has a purifying and quickening power. It is God's judgment, and His judgments are always full of purpose. "He that hath suffered in the flesh, hath ceased from sin" (iv. 1) is a bold statement of this truth, that pain is God's discipline.[1] In the case of Christ Himself the "quickening in the spirit" was subsequent to His being "put to death in the flesh" (iii. 18). He became "a quickening spirit" after He had passed through death.[2]

14. The sequence of thought in 1 Peter iii. 18–21 is thus clear. The writer is speaking of the sufferings of Christ, and the way in which the quickening power of His spirit was, as it were, released in His death. Death, which seems to end all ministries, intensified His. After His Passion, He quickened the dead by His preaching in the spirit to them. And not only the dead, for He quickens us in baptism after a like manner, through the power of His Resurrection.

The parallelism is between the Ministry of Christ in Hades (v. 19), and the Ministry of Christ in baptism (v. 21). It has been shown (§§ 7, 8) that to early Christian thought the baptism of the Christian reproduces many features of the Descent of Christ to Hades. We are, by virtue of baptism, partakers, in some sense, of His Passion. "We are buried with Him through baptism into death," that as Christ was raised we also should walk with Him in newness

[1] The saying of St. Paul, "he that is dead is freed from sin" (Rom. vi. 7) is not an exact parallel. Cf. Chrysostom's paraphrase, "He that has come up from baptism (of which St. Paul has been speaking) since he has died there once for all, must remain for ever dead to sin."

[2] Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 22, 36, 45.

of life.[1] We are "quickened together with Him,"[2] a passage upon which the comments of Chrysostom quoted above are instructive in this context.

The idea, in short, underlying 1 Peter iii. 19–21 is that as Christ descended into the abyss and preached the Gospel to captive souls, when "quickened in the spirit" after His death, so we descend into the baptismal waters where Christ delivers our captive souls by the same power, viz., that of His Resurrection. This, too, accounts for the mention of Christ's triumph in verse 22. It was after His victory over the infernal powers that He ascended to glory. And to emphasise that the reference in verse 22 is to this triumphant conquest of the Underworld, which was afterwards called the "Harrowing of Hell," the Latin Vulgate interpolates in verse 22 the words *deglutiens mortem ut vitae eternae heredes efficeremur*. So it is that, after the powers of evil have been subdued in us, we enter the Paradise of the Church by baptism.

We must bear in mind the purpose of the whole argument. The writer wishes to encourage his readers in their sufferings, and he does so by indicating the triumphant issues of the sufferings of Christ. The fact that Christ, after His Passion, ministered to the dead by His spirit would afford little consolation to living men, were it not that the apostle is able to add that we, too, have a kindred experience. The Power of Christ's spirit, quickened through His Death, saves the living in baptism (when rightly appropriated), as it was effectual in its ministry to the dead. It is to this salvation of the living that the apostle's argument leads up, and the Descent into Hades is mentioned just because to St. Peter as to St. Paul the thought that "we are buried with Christ by baptism" and are thus partakers of His risen life is very vividly present.

[1] Rom. vi, 4. [2] Col. ii. 13.

blow" or the effect of a blow, as in John xx. 25. (2) ence it came to mean anything wrought in metal or ne, and so an idol as in Acts vii. 43 (Amos v. 26). (3) ·uratively, it is common for a "model" or "example," in ch sense it occurs eight times in the New Testament. And it is used to express an outline sketch, to be filled in ·rwards. Thus in Romans v. 14 Adam is "a type of n that was to come," the prefiguring, as it were, of the ·fect man.

this last sense the word has been adopted in Christian ology to indicate the prophetic character of Old Testa- t personages and events. Thus Barnabas speaks of c, Moses, Joshua, and the Scapegoat as types of Christ; Justin Martyr employs similar language, using the ds τύπος and σύμβολον as identical in their significance. speaks of "the parables and types of the prophets,"[1] of the Mosaic ordinances as "types" fulfilled in Christ.[2] mcision was a τύπος of the spiritual circumcision of uture, which he mentions as connected with baptism.[3] loes not use the word "antitype," but he is quite in pathy with the line of thought which contrasts the pe" of the Old Testament—material, and imperfect th the "antitype" of the New Testament—spiritual perfect. In one remarkable passage,[4] he finds in the of the Flood a "mystery of salvation," prefiguring alvation found in Christ; and as it is clear that he has ter iii. 19 f. in his mind, we must give the substance s argument:

tin quotes, as from Isaiah,[5] the words, "In the Flood

[1] *Tryph.* 90. [2] *Tryph.* 42.
[3] *Tryph.* 41, 43.
[4] *Tryph.* 138.
[5] This is, apparently, an inaccurate reminiscence of the LXX of Isa.

trate the emphasis which is laid upon baptism in its relation to the Death of Christ on the one hand, and to the quickening of a new life on the other.

Indeed that baptism is "for the remission of sins" is an article of the Nicene Creed, and it is unnecessary to accumulate evidence to show that its efficacy was regarded as derived from the Passion. A sentence from Tertullian (in this not in disagreement with Catholic teaching) will suffice. He explains that baptisms are generally performed before Easter "cum et Passio Domini, *in qua tingimur*, adimpleta est." [1] That the day specially chosen was usually Easter Eve is very significant as indicating the association which I have been exhibiting between baptism and Christ's Descent to Hades.

I quote next a passage from the careful and elaborate lectures which Cyril of Jerusalem delivered to newly baptized persons. He says that baptism not only purges our sins and ministers to us the gift of the Holy Spirit, but that it is "an antitype of the sufferings of Christ" (*τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων ἀντίτυπον*), in proof of which he cites Romans vi. 3.[2] Now it is to be observed that, when speaking of baptism, Cyril here uses the same word, *ἀντίτυπον*, as is employed in 1 Peter iii. 21, and there can be little doubt that he had this passage in his mind. The word is rare in Scripture,[3] only occurring again in Hebrews ix. 24, and Cyril rather goes out of his way to use it.

17. We must next examine at some length the meaning of this word *ἀντίτυπον*, as the interpretation of the passage mainly turns upon it. *Τύπος* occurs sixteen times in the New Testament. (1) Its primary meaning seems to be

[1] *De bapt.* 19.

[2] Cat. Myst. xx. 6.

[3] It occurs as an erroneous variant for *ἀντίθετον* in Esther xiii. 4, but nowhere else in the LXX.

"a blow" or the effect of a blow, as in John xx. 25. (2) Thence it came to mean anything wrought in metal or stone, and so an idol as in Acts vii. 43 (Amos v. 26). (3) Figuratively, it is common for a "model" or "example," in which sense it occurs eight times in the New Testament. And (4) it is used to express an outline sketch, to be filled in afterwards. Thus in Romans v. 14 Adam is "a type of Him that was to come," the prefiguring, as it were, of the perfect man.

In this last sense the word has been adopted in Christian theology to indicate the prophetic character of Old Testament personages and events. Thus Barnabas speaks of Isaac, Moses, Joshua, and the Scapegoat as types of Christ; and Justin Martyr employs similar language, using the words τύπος and σύμβολον as identical in their significance. He speaks of "the parables and types of the prophets,"[1] and of the Mosaic ordinances as "types" fulfilled in Christ.[2] Circumcision was a τύπος of the spiritual circumcision of the future, which he mentions as connected with baptism.[3] He does not use the word "antitype," but he is quite in sympathy with the line of thought which contrasts the "type" of the Old Testament—material, and imperfect—with the "antitype" of the New Testament—spiritual and perfect. In one remarkable passage,[4] he finds in the story of the Flood a "mystery of salvation," prefiguring the salvation found in Christ; and as it is clear that he has 1 Peter iii. 19 f. in his mind, we must give the substance of his argument:

Justin quotes, as from Isaiah,[5] the words, "In the Flood

[1] *Tryph.* 90. [2] *Tryph.* 42.
[3] *Tryph.* 41, 43.
[4] *Tryph.* 138.
[5] This is, apparently, an inaccurate reminiscence of the LXX of Isa. liv. 8.

of Noah, I saved thee," and he says here is *τὸ μυστήριον τῶν σωζομένων ἀνθρώπων*. The number of Noah's family who were saved (*ὄντες ὀκτώ*) is a *σύμβολον* of the eighth day, on which Christ appeared after He rose from the dead (*ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἀναστάς*). Christ was, like Noah, the beginning of a new race, who were regenerated by Him through water (*διὰ ὕδατος*) and faith and the wood of the Cross, as Noah was saved in wood, being borne upon the waters with his own (*διεσώθη ἐποχούμενος τοῖς ὕδασι*). The words, "In Noah I saved thee" apply not only to those of Jewish race, but to all who are obedient to God (*τῷ λαῷ τῷ πειθομένῳ αὐτῷ*).

Justin's main point is that the waters of the Flood are a "symbol" or "type" (for he elsewhere uses the words interchangeably) of the waters of Baptism, in that deliverance came to Noah by being "borne upon the waters." He does not mention St. Peter's First Epistle, but his language is clearly reminiscent of "few, that is, eight souls, were saved through water" (*διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος*). They escaped through water to the ark of safety. Alike in Justin's exposition, and in St. Peter's words, the waters of the Flood are taken to be, not waters of destruction (as elsewhere in Scripture) but waters of deliverance, on which the ark rode securely. But, then, does this imply the further inference that, the Flood being the *τύπος*, he would have spoken of Baptism as the *ἀντίτυπος*?

Most commentators have accepted this inference, but it has grave difficulties. The word "antitype" in this sense, viz., of the New Testament fulfilment of an Old Testament "type," is not found anywhere, so far as I know, in early Christian literature. The idea of the fulfilment of an Old Testament "type" is indeed contained in Romans v. 14, and, as has been pointed out, is frequent in Barnabas and Justin. But the "typology" of the Old Testament was

only formulated gradually, and in its first expressions the technical term "antitype" does not appear. Indeed, if τύπος means an imperfect sketch or outline or prefigurement, ἀντίτυπος would be an unfelicitous term for its completion or accomplishment. To speak of a "countertype" does not convey the idea that it is the fulfilment of the "type." And the term is one which, it is safe to say, could not have been used in this sense, until the doctrine of "types" had become so familiar that the meaning of τύπος from which it started had been forgotten.

18. But, in fact, the term ἀντίτυπος is used in a quite different signification during the early centuries, and moreover in a signification which is in precise accordance with its derivation. Τύπος is, as it were, the original die, and the ἀντίτυπος is the stamp of the die, just as the printed letter is the "antitype" of the printer's type. This is the sense in which the term ἀντίτυπος is used in Hebrews ix. 24 (the only place in the New Testament besides 1 Peter iii. 20 where it is found). "The holy places made with hands" are "antitypal" of the true, i.e., like in pattern to the true, which are the eternal realities in the heavens. The "antitype" here is an imperfect adumbration of the "type."

So, too, in the so-called Second Epistle of Clement (written about 140 A.D.), the flesh is the "antitype" of the spirit: ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ αὕτη ἀντίτυπός ἐστιν τοῦ πνεύματος (§ 14). As Lightfoot says (*in loc.*), "the ἀντίτυπον is the material, temporary manifestation, the imperfect and blurred transcript of the original."

The term was used in the same way by the Valentinian heretics. Irenaeus quotes them as speaking of the Church on earth as antitype of the Church in heaven.[1] And

[1] *Adv. Haer.* i. 5, 6, ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκκλησίαν εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἀντίτυπον τῆς ἄνω ἐκκλησίας.

Epiphanius reports similar phrases. In the Valentinian jargon, ἄνθρωπος was ἀντίτυπος τοῦ προόντος Ἀγεννήτου.[1]

Finally, the Eucharistic elements were frequently called "antitypes." In the *Apostolic Constitutions* we find the expression more than once, e.g., παραδοὺς δὲ ἡμῖν τὰ ἀντίτυπα μυστήρια τοῦ τιμίου σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ αἵματος.[2] And the same way of speaking is to be found in the Greek Fathers.[3]

That is to say, the regular meaning of "antitype" in early Christian literature is that it is, as it were, an adumbration and prefigurement and anticipation of the "type." The term ἀντίτυπος never occurs [4] (I believe) in the modern sense of the "fulfilment" or "completion" of the τύπος. It is always a lesser thing than the τύπος from which it derives all its significance and spiritual value.

Now there is no good reason for interpreting it differently in 1 Peter iii. 20, or for supposing that it must mean here exactly the opposite of what it means in Hebrews ix. 24, the only other Biblical passage in which it appears. Τύπος in 1 Peter v. 3 means a "model" or "example," and in strict conformity with this, ἀντίτυπον in 1 Peter iii. 20 should mean that which corresponds to, and is set over against, a spiritual pattern. In other words, the ἀντίτυπον of 1 Peter iii. 20 must be something inferior and derivative, when it is contrasted with its τύπος. It is not the spiritual reality to which the material type pointed onward. It is rather, in Lightfoot's words, "the imperfect and blurred transcript of the original" reality.

19. Hence we must not interpret ἀντίτυπον in 1 Peter

[1] *Haer.* xxxi. 5. [2] *Apost. Const.* v. 14; cp. vi. 30.

[3] E.g., Joh. Damasc. *de fid. orthod.* iv. 14. A long note by Pfaff on the term is printed in Stieren's *Irenaeus* i. 883 f.

[4] Thus the term "antitype" does not appear anywhere in Cyprian, although he is full of typology. Isaac, Joseph, Samuel being types of Christ, and Rachel a type of the Church, etc.

iii. 20, where it is applied to baptism, as signifying that the Flood is the type and Baptism the antitype. That idea might not have been alien to the early Christian writers, but they would not have expressed it thus. As has been said, they never use the term ἀντίτυπος in this way. The usage of the term is constant, and it indicates that the τύπος to which baptism is ἀντίτυπος was some greater thing than baptism, some spiritual reality from which baptism derives its efficacy. And Cyril of Jerusalem exactly expresses this "greater thing" when he says, in the passage quoted above, that Baptism is antitypal of Christ's Passion. He means exactly what St. Paul means in Romans vi. 4.

Here is the clue, then, to the structure of 1 Peter iii. 19 f. The comparison which is indicated by the word ἀντίτυπον is not between Baptism and the Flood (the mention of which is only parenthetic and incidental), but between Baptism and Christ's Descent into Hades, of which Baptism is but the μίμησις or imitation.

20. We may reach the same conclusion by another route. Baptism is an *act* or a *process*, and cannot be compared to a *material element*, like water. No doubt, the *water* of baptism might be compared to the *water* of the Flood (as Justin Martyr compares it in the passage cited above). But, according to the current interpretation of ὅ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυτον νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα, St. Peter is made to say "which [water] now saves you antitypically, viz., baptism." The sentence, thus interpreted, is not only clumsy in an extraordinary degree, but it states what no one has ever wished to state, viz., that baptism, *tout simple*, is comparable with water. That is to introduce a confusion into the metaphor which ought not to be introduced if it can be avoided.

Some editors have sought to avoid this confusion by

referring ὅ, not to the ὕδωρ just mentioned, but to the whole sentence of v. 20 describing Noah's deliverance. This shows the difficulty of the current interpretation, and the perplexity caused by the endeavour to find the true antecedent for ὅ. Erasmus felt the difficulty of ὅ to be so grave that he printed conjecturally ᾧ, in its place, and ᾧ has been, since his day, the reading of the *textus receptus*. It has no uncial manuscript authority, the only variant being the omission of ὅ by ℵ* 73 and the Aethiopic version (these, nevertheless, being witnesses to the difficulty felt in interpreting ὅ). Hort, however, has urged that ᾧ is the original reading, and his important note must be transcribed here :

"The order of the words renders it impossible to take ἀντίτυπον with βάπτισμα, whether in apposition to ὅ or to the sentence ; and it is hardly less difficult to take ἀντίτυπον with ὅ, as though it were either ἀντίτυπον ὄν or ἀντιτύπως. Accordingly ὅ seems to be a primitive error for ᾧ, the force of which might be hidden by the interposition of καὶ ὑμᾶς before ἀντίτυπον ; this deviation from the more obvious order is justified by the emphasis on καὶ ὑμᾶς. Both by sight and sound the interchange of letters would be easy."

In other words, Hort would read here : ᾧ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα, and his reasoning seems very strong.

Whether, however, we read ᾧ or ὅ I submit that the antecedent should be found not in ὕδωρ (which introduces confusion into the metaphor), nor in v. 20 which speaks of Noah's deliverance, but in v. 19 which speaks of Christ's Descent into Hades. If we read ὅ, the sentence is still clumsy but intelligible : "Which [sc. Christ's Descent into Hades] also saves you now antitypically, viz., Baptism." But if we follow Hort and read ᾧ all is clear, and the verse runs :

"As an antitype to which [sc. Christ's Descent into Hades] baptism now also saves you." V. 20 is parenthetical, and the parallelism is found in vv. 19 and 21, the comparison instituted being precisely that upon which St. Paul lays so much stress in Romans vi. 4 and Colossians ii. 12.

21. The text of 1 Peter iii. 18–iv. 1 may then be exhibited as follows:

iii. 18. Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἔπαθε, δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων, ἵνα ἡμᾶς προσαγάγῃ τῷ θεῷ, θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι,

iii. 19. ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύματι πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν

iii. 20. ἀπειθήσασί ποτε, ὅτε ἀπεξεδέχετο ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ μακροθυμία ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε, κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ, εἰς ἣν ὀλίγοι, τουτ' ἔστιν ὀκτω ψυχαί, διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος.

iii. 21a. ᾧ [ὅ] καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα,

iii. 21b. οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν,

iii. 22. δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ, πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανόν, ὑποταγέντων αὐτῷ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσίαν καὶ δυνάμεων.

iv. 1. Χριστοῦ οὖν παθόντος σαρκὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν ὁπλίσασθε, ὅτι ὁ παθὼν σαρκὶ πέπαυται ἁμαρτίας, κ.τ.λ.

That is: Christ suffered, and the sequel of His Passion was a quickening in spirit (iii. 18), of which the first issue was His ministry to the spirits in Hades (iii. 19), but of which another, more general, issue is His ministry to us in our baptism (iii. 21), which is in the power of His Resurrection (iii. 22). So let us take our Passion in a like temper, and it will be to us a purifying discipline (iv. 1).

Verses 20 and 21*b* are parentheses of an explanatory character, and the argument is best understood if we read the passage first without them. We then perceive that (i.) it is the quickening of Christ's spirit after His Passion which is the ground of the encouragement that the apostle offers

(compare iii. 18 and iv. 1); and (ii.) that the two spheres, as it were, of this intensified or quickened ministry of Christ are (*a*) to the *dead*, as exemplified by the Descent into Hades and Christ's victory there, and (*b*) to the *living*, who experience its power in their Baptism. And of these two, the Descent into Hades is the τύπος, our descent into the waters of baptism the ἀντίτυπος—the sacrament being the reflexion and image of the Action of Christ.

22. We have now to ask, Why are the Noachian sinners specified in v. 20? Was the ministry to the "spirits in prison" addressed only to them? It was because the Petrine passage seemed to teach this, and to restrict Christ's preaching, if it was in Hades, to one section only of the men who lived before His Advent, viz., the antediluvian patriarchs, that Augustine was led to deny that here we have mention of *any* preaching in Hades. And he argues [1] that the passage refers to a preaching by the pre-incarnate Christ to the contemporaries of Noah, imprisoned in the darkness of ignorance, who were afterwards overwhelmed in the Flood for their sins. This interpretation had a wide influence. It was accepted (in substance) by Thomas Aquinas,[2] and prevails to this day in unexpected quarters. But it is only an afterthought of exegesis, and introduces more difficulties than it was intended to remove. It makes havoc of the general argument which the Apostle derives from a contemplation of the sufferings of Christ. It was —only to mention one point—after Christ had been "put to death in the flesh" that He was "quickened in the spirit," in which He "went and preached to the spirits in prison." Nor can sound exegesis refrain from including the "spirits in prison" of 1 Peter iii. 19 under the νέκροι to whom "the Gospel was preached," according to 1 Peter iv. 6. The argument, as we have seen, is continuous and

[1] *Ad Evod. Ep.* 164, 15 f. [2] *Summa*, 3. 52. 2 *ad* 3.

leads up to these latter. Augustine, indeed, is forced by the exigencies of his theory to explain *νέκροι* of the spiritually dead, but the contrast between "the quick and the dead" in the preceding verse (1 Pet. iv. 5) shows that the physically dead are indicated. We cannot escape from the assertion in 1 Peter iii. 19 and iv. 6 of a Ministry of Christ in Hades, after His Passion.[1]

23. It has been suggested, however, that the allusion of St. Peter is to a Ministry of Christ in Hades to *fallen angels*, not to the spirits of dead men, and that thus we have a ready explanation of his mention of "those who were disobedient in the days of Noah." For in the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (x. 12) there is a tradition preserved that "the sons of God who took wives of the daughters of men" (cf. Gen. vi. 2) are bound fast "under the hills until the day of their judgment." The language of 2 Peter ii. 4, 5 lends some support to this view of 1 Peter iii. 19, 20.

"If God spared not angels when they sinned, but cast them down to hell, and committed them to pits of darkness to be reserved unto judgment; and spared not the ancient world, but preserved Noah with seven others, a preacher of righteousness, when he brought a flood upon the world of the ungodly. . . ."

Whether the author of 2 Peter had 1 Peter in his mind or not, when he wrote this passage, the juxtaposition of the imprisonment of the angels who had sinned, and the destruction of the Flood, is probably sufficient to show that he believed the sin of the angels to be their union

[1] Dr. Loofs, of Halle, argues, indeed, that *σαρκί* in 1 Pet. iv. 6 proves that the *νέκροι* there mentioned must be alive "in the flesh," and hence he agrees with Augustine in interpreting *νέκροι* of the spiritually dead. But this is to overlook the difference in tense between *κριθῶσι* and *ζῶσι*. It is those who have *already* been judged in the flesh that are to live to God in the spirit. Loofs' article on "Descent into Hades" is in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iv. col. 659.

with the daughters of men, which is mentioned in Genesis vi. 4 as the crowning act of wickedness that directly provoked the Divine judgment of the Flood. The parallel passage in Jude 6 does not mention the Flood but indicates that the sin for which the angels were punished was lust.[1]

"Angels which kept not their own principality, but left their proper habitation, he hath kept in everlasting bonds under darkness unto the judgment of the great day. Even as Sodom and Gomorrah, etc., having in like manner with these given themselves over to fornication."

There is a good deal that is plausible in this interpretation of 1 Peter iii. 19. *Πνεύματα* in the New Testament generally means "angels," although it is also used once or twice of the disembodied spirits of men (Heb. xii. 23; cf. Luke xxiv. 37, 39). And the fallen angels in bondage is a favourite theme with the Jewish apocalyptic writers. One passage has been quoted above from the Ethiopic Book of Enoch, and others might be adduced, e.g., Eth. Enoch xxi. 10; liv. 5. So in the Sclavonic *Enoch* (vii. 1) the fallen angels in the second heaven are described as "the prisoners suspended, waiting for the eternal judgment." So, too, in the *Apocalypse of Baruch* [2] it is written, "Some of them [sc. the angels] descended and mingled with women. And then those who did so were tormented in chains."

Yet, the idea of Christ *preaching* to the fallen angels in Hades is one not found elsewhere in Christian literature. Even in the Jewish-Christian apocrypha which I have mentioned, the only hint of anything of the kind is that in *Ethiopic Enoch* xii. 4, xiii. 8, xiv. 1, there is mention of the "watchers of the heavens," who have fallen from their high estate, being reproved by the seer. Dr. Bigg, in

[1] Cf. *Testament of Reuben*, v. 5.

[2] lvi. 12, 13. I quote from Dr. Charles' editions of these apocalypses.

his notes on 1 Peter,[1] quotes indeed two passages from the *Bereschit Rabba* which I have not been able to verify. "But when they that are bound, they that are in Gehinnom, saw the light of the Messiah, they rejoiced to receive Him"; and again, "This is that which stands written: We shall rejoice and exult in thee. When? When the captives climb out of hell and the Shechinah at their head." These last passages seem to point to a Jewish tradition of a Descent of Messiah into Hades, but their date is uncertain, and in any case they allude, apparently, to a deliverance of human, rather than angelic, spirits from the Underworld, after the manner of the "Harrowing of Hell," which occupied so large a place afterwards in Christian speculation about the condition of the departed.

And there are other difficulties besetting this interpretation. As we have seen, the argument requires us to bring together the πνεύματα of iii. 21 and the νέκροι of iv. 6. But it would be very strange if the fallen angels in bondage were reckoned among νέκροι or "the dead."

Again, it is remarkable that no ancient commentator or theologian seems to have interpreted πνεύματα of the fallen angels, the idea having been given currency in our own time by Spitta.[2] The passage is so obscure that perhaps too much stress should not be laid on this, but we have to reckon with it, when weighing rival interpretations.

24. We come back then to the question, Why is mention made specially of the Noachian sinners, when the writer is thinking of Christ's preaching in Hades to departed souls?

One answer is that the Flood was the great judgment of the ancient world, and that the sinners who were then judged may be taken as representing all the sinful who

[1] *International Critical Commentary*, p. 163.

[2] F. Spitta, *Christi Predigt an die Geister*, is quoted by Loofs in the article which I have cited, as taking this view.

were to come after them. The writer of the Epistle does not say this, indeed, but it is congenial to his argument and may have been in his thought. When Hermas describes his Vision of the Tower (§ 10 above), he pictures the lowest tier of the building—representing the company of righteous men from the beginning—as built of stones who symbolise the just from Adam to Noah. They are the beginning of the Tower. And, in like manner, no doubt in the lowest depth of Hades would be assembled the sinners of the earliest period which was ended by the Flood. The Flood was the first recorded judgment of God upon a sinful race ; it was prior to the judgment upon Sodom and Gomorrah (which is mentioned immediately after it in 2 Peter ii. 6). It was the first, as well as the most conspicuous and representative, of the national judgments of the past.

There is, besides, another reason why the sinners overwhelmed in the Flood may have been specially mentioned at this point. In an earlier part of this essay (§ 1), it has been pointed out that the waters of the Flood were conceived of as the abysmal waters which burst forth in judgment. Hades is "the Abyss," and into it "the disobedient in the days of Noah" passed in a fashion specially exemplary. They were carried down by the eruption of the deep waters to the Underworld of terror. The idea of Hades or Sheol would suggest to any one nurtured on Jewish beliefs the picture of overwhelming floods. The cry of Jonah "out of the belly of Sheol" is "all thy waves and thy billows passed over me." [1] Countless souls were in that place of darkness and captivity, but St. Peter recalls, particularly and immediately, those who were imprisoned there on the fateful day when its waters overflowed in judgment and carried the disobedient to its depths. To our modern mind there is no particular connexion between the place of

[1] Jonah ii. 3.

departed spirits and the waters of the Flood, but to a Jew of the Apostolic age the waters of the Flood were the waters leading to Hades, the abode of the dead.

25. Something remains to be said about the clause iii. 21*b*, in which baptism is said to be *οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου, ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν*. This is generally taken to mean that baptism is not a mere washing or cleansing of the body, but a spiritual act described as the *ἐπερώτημα* of a good conscience Godward. If this be the meaning (more particularly if baptism be regarded as "antitypal" of the Flood) the writer has suddenly passed to a new thought about water. He insists that the waters of baptism are not only waters of purification of the body. But there is no hint of this use of water, viz., that it *cleanses*, in what he has said about the Flood.[1] If *σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου* means "bodily cleansing," the sentence is otiose and irrelevant.

Further, to express the cleansing of the body by such a phrase would be awkward and pedantic. We should expect *σαρκὸς κάθαρσις* or some expression of the kind.

Ρύπος means, in medical writers, the wax of the ear (see Mayor on James i. 21), and is used generally of the grossness of the body. It appears four times in the LXX (Job ix. 31; xi. 15; xiv. 4 and Isa. iv. 4) in the sense of filth or uncleanness. It does not occur again in the New Testament; but we have *ῥυπαρία* in James i. 21 and *ῥυπόω* in Revelation xxii. 10, in both cases with reference to sins of the flesh.

We get more help from the word *ἀπόθεσις*. This does not appear in the LXX, but *ἀποτιθέναι* is frequent—sometimes meaning "to lay up in safe keeping," but twice

[1] Origen speaks of the Flood as the Purification of the earth (*c. Cels.* vi. 58), but this thought is not present to the mind of the writer of 1 Pet. iii. 19 f.

in its strict etymological meaning "to divest" oneself, sc. of garments (Lev. xvi. 23; 2 Macc. viii. 35). In Acts vii. 58 it is used explicitly of such "disrobing," and the idea of "putting away" in other passages (Rom. xiii. 12; Eph. iv. 22; Col. iii. 8) has a similar suggestion. The noun ἀπόθεσις is only found again in the Greek Bible in 2 Peter i. 14, ἡ ἀπόθεσις τοῦ σκηνωματός μου, "the putting off my tabernacle," i.e., the abandonment of the body in death, when it is "put off" like an old garment (cf. 2 Cor. v. 2–5). That is to say, in the only other passage where ἀπόθεσις appears, it is used of the "putting away" of the body at death. It is natural then to inquire if it may not have this meaning in the passage before us; and, in fact, this harmonises with the argument of the passage as a whole.

The writer, as we have seen, regards baptism as "antitypical" to the Descent into Hades. The Lord's experience in that Descensus is repeated "antitypically" in our experience in baptism. There is, however, an obvious difference. In His case there was a separation of spirit and body, the body remaining in the sepulchre, and the spirit descending to preach to the spirits in prison. Christ "put off" His Body in that spiritual mission. That is not the case with us, when we go down into the baptismal waters. We do not "put off the grossness of the flesh," and, in drawing out the parallel which is in the writer's thought, it is apposite to mention this. As an antitype to Christ's descent into Hades, baptism saves us, but there is in our case no ἀπόθεσις of the earthly tabernacle, which hampers the spirit in its quest. The body is not discarded with its grossness.[1]

Baptism is, on the other hand, συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς

[1] St. Paul explains in Col. ii. 11, 12, that there is, in baptism, a true ἀπέκδυσις τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός; but this 'putting off' of the whole body of carnal affections is not the same thing as the discarding, or ἀπόθεσις, of the body itself.

ἐπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν. Leaving on one side for the moment the meaning of the rare word ἐπερώτημα the mention of a "good conscience" is significant. The point of the argument throughout the Epistle, as has been shown, is not that suffering, deserved or undeserved, is acceptable to God, but suffering which is endured for conscience sake: εἰ διὰ συνείδησιν Θεοῦ ὑποφέρει τις λύπας πάσχων ἀδίκως (ii. 19), and again: συνείδησιν ἔχοντες ἀγαθήν (iii. 16). Such was Christ's Passion: He was δίκαιος (iii. 18). We do not reproduce "the burial with Him" in baptism, unless we go down into the baptismal waters with "a good conscience." We do not reproduce it by death or the abandonment of the body, but by the ἐπερώτημα of a "good conscience," which was an essential feature in His Death and Passion. But what is ἐπερώτημα? The word is used in Thucydides (iii. 53, 68) in the sense of "question"; and some commentators have found here an allusion to the questions put to candidates for baptism in the baptismal rite. But this is to read back into the New Testament the customs and formulae of a later day. It is not likely that in the Apostolic age the baptismal "questions" were so familiar a feature of the rite, that they could be alluded to thus.

Alford compares 2 Kings xi. 7 ἐπηρώτησεν Δαυὶδ εἰς εἰρήνην Ἰωάβ: "David asked about the peace (or health) of Joab"; and he suggests that ἐπερώτημα εἰς Θεὸν means "inquiry after God." This, as Bigg points out, would require ἐπερώτησις rather than ἐπερώτημα, but such nicety of language can hardly be pressed. ἀπόθεσις is an act or a process, and ἐπερώτημα is set over against it. It may mean "questioning" or "quest" as well as "question"; the act of asking, as well as the formulated request.

The word only occurs twice in the LXX, as follows:

Ecclus. xxxvi. (xxxiii.) 3. ὁ νόμος αὐτῷ πιστὸς ὡς ἐπερώ-

τημα δήλων, where the Vulgate has *interrogatio*. The meaning, however, here seems rather to be "oracle."

Dan. (Th.) iv. 14 (17). καὶ ῥῆμα ἁγίων τὸ ἐπερώτημα, where the Vulgate has *petitio*. The R.V. of this verse is "the sentence is by the decree of the watchers, and the *demand* (mg. *matter*) is by the word of the holy ones." Driver notes that *demand* here is "generally supposed to have the weakened sense of the *matter*."

In both cases, the Hebrew word behind ἐπερώτημα is שְׁאֵלָא, which Fuerst's Lexicon explains as "an object of desire, and so *concern*, *business*, *thing*," and connects with the root שאל "to penetrate," and so either to "ask" or to "go down deep," with which again is connected the proper name שְׁאוֹל, Sheol.

These passages seem to corroborate Alford's interpretation. Ἐπερώτημα . . . εἰς Θεὸν is the "inquiry of a good conscience towards God" or the "business of a good conscience in respect to God." The point brought out, whatever be the precise rendering of ἐπερώτημα, is that the saving efficacy of baptism resides in its spiritual character, and in the relation of the baptized person to God. It was *in the spirit* that Christ descended into Hades, and it is as a spiritual process that His Ministry in Baptism is efficacious.[1]

JOHN DUBLIN.

[1] The connexion between שְׁאֵלָא the Hebrew word behind ἐπερώτημα in the LXX. and שְׁאוֹל = Hades, is perhaps a mere coincidence. But if, as Jerome thought (*Ep. ad Hedib.* 150) the First Epistle of Peter was written in Aramaic originally, it would be worth considering whether the writer did not at this point introduce a play upon words. He has been comparing the ministry of Baptism to the ministry of the Descent into Hades. There is no resemblance in one point, viz. that in Baptism the neophyte does not die, as Christ died; but nevertheless Baptism is the *She'ola'* of a good conscience Godward.

ROMANS XV. AND XVI.: A NEW THEORY.

THE problems connected with the closing chapters of the Epistle to the Romans constitute one of the standing puzzles of New Testament textual criticism. As Professor Lake remarks, the attempted solutions "have been many, but for the most part their days have been few and evil, and they are now interred with but short epitaphs in the pages of Zahn's *Einleitung*." In the face of such a warning it may seem rash to offer a new solution which may indeed even fail to meet with the honour of decent burial or commemorative epitaph, however short, but perhaps it is worth making the attempt.

It will be necessary in the first place to remind the reader of the facts which constitute the problem. Fortunately this can be done briefly, and that for two reasons. They are accessible at length and in full detail in such works as Sanday and Headlam's *Romans* (pp. lxxxv. ff.), Lake's *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul* (pp. 325 ff.), and Moffatt's *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* (pp. 134 ff.), while the view which is to be proposed does not turn on the minutiae of the textual and Patristic evidence.

(1) The primary fact is that we have clear evidence of the existence of a recension of the Epistle which omitted chapters xv., xvi. It is true they are found in all our present MSS., but the proof that this was not always the case, though indirect, is conclusive. (*a*) The *breves* or chapter headings [1] of the *Codex Amiatinus* are based on a text in which xvi. 25–27, the Doxology which now stands at the close of the Epistle,[2] follows xiv. 23, while those of the *Codex Fuldensis*

[1] In view of later developments of the argument it may be well to remind the reader that these do not refer to our present chapters, but to shorter sections.

[2] It will be convenient to refer to these verses briefly as "The Doxology."

imply the omission of the whole of the last two chapters, including this Doxology. (*b*) Neither Irenaeus, Tertullian, or Cyprian quote from the last two chapters. We are aware of the pitfalls in the argument from silence, but it is certainly significant that Cyprian in his *Testimonia* never refers to Romans xvi. 17 under the headings which deal with the avoidance of heretics. Tertullian actually quotes Romans xiv. 10 as occurring *in clausula*, i.e., in the closing section of the Epistle, while he does not use against Marcion any of the obvious texts from chapter xv., or accuse him of having mutilated the Epistle.

(*c*) Origen says that Marcion "removed" (*abstulit*) the Doxology, and "cut away" (*dissecuit*) [1] the last two chapters.

(*d*) In the group of MSS. DEFG which seem to come from a common ancestor it is argued that the text of the chapters xv., xvi. is so different to that of the rest of the Epistle that somewhere in the line of transmission there must have come a MS. containing only chapters i.–xiv., which was supplemented from some other source for xv., xvi. Sanday and Headlam also think, as does Lake, that this archetype omitted the Doxology.

(2) Again, in our existing MSS. the Doxology itself occurs (*a*) after xiv. 23; (*b*) at the end of the Epistle; (*c*) in both places; or (*d*) is omitted altogether.[2]

The variation in the position of "the Grace" of xvi. 20, inserted in some MSS. after xvi. 23, and in *Textus Receptus* by a natural conflation in both places, is additional evidence for the omission of the Doxology but it does not appear otherwise to affect the problem as a whole, the variants being easily explicable from chapter xvi. alone.[3]

(3) There is evidence that the text used by Origen and

[1] The meaning of this term is disputed, but it is generally agreed that it implies a charge of removing the chapters altogether.

[2] For details of the evidence see Sanday and Headlam, p. lxxxix.

[3] See Sanday and Headlam, p. xci.

Ambrosiaster omitted ἐν Ῥώμῃ ("in Rome") in i. 7, 15, and read ἐν ἀγάπῃ ("in love") for ἀγαπητοῖς ("beloved"); this is actually the reading of G.[1] The evidence for the omission of "in Rome" partly coincides with the evidence for the short recension, a fact which may or may not be accidental.

(4) Finally the question has been raised whether chapter xvi. 1–23 formed part of the original Epistle and was really addressed to Rome at all. The argument here is not based on textual evidence since there is no trace of its omission, except in the texts which also omitted chapter xv., but the possibility that it does not belong to the Epistle is one of the points which has to be taken into consideration in the solution of the problem. It will be remembered that this chapter consists of a string of salutations, followed by a sudden warning against false teachers (xvi. 17–20). This outburst is certainly surprising as applied to Rome; it is severe and emphatic in tone and the body of the Epistle has given no hint of the existence of false teachers of the type implied. Further, we do not expect to find in a letter addressed to a church St. Paul has never visited a list of salutations longer than that of any other Epistle, even when that Church is the metropolis of the world. In the Epistle itself he has shown very little acquaintance with local conditions, but in this chapter there is a long string of friends, mentioned in a way which at least suggests a considerable knowledge of their work and position in the church. Hence it has been widely felt that it would be more in place if written to a community where St. Paul had already made a long stay, and two facts point to Ephesus. In verse 3 we have a greeting to Epaenetus, who is described as "the firstfruits of Asia"; of course he may have gone

[1] *i.e.* "To all that are in the love of God, called to be saints," instead of "To all that are in Rome, beloved of God, called to be saints."

to Rome and St. Paul may be recommending him in this way to his new friends, but it is more natural to suppose that the words are addressed to the church of which Epaenetus is the oldest member. Of greater importance is verse 3, "Salute Prisca and Aquila . . . and the Church in their house." Prisca and Aquila had come from Rome to Corinth and had met St. Paul there (Acts xviii. 1 ff.); thence they accompanied him to Ephesus. In 1 Corinthians xvi. 19, written from that city, he speaks of them as with him and also refers to the Church in their house, while in 2 Timothy iv. 19 greetings are sent to them again at Ephesus. It is of course possible that when Romans was written they might have returned temporarily to Rome to clear up their business affairs, but it is not altogether probable, and it is certainly strange that during a short visit their house should there too be the meeting place of the local Church.

On the other side we have arguments derived from archaeological evidence and from inscriptions of Rome and the neighbourhood, in which many of the names mentioned in the chapter have been found. But it is not suggested that these refer to the actual individuals addressed; the argument is that the comparison shows that Rome was the one place where this particular combination of Jewish, Greek and Latin names would be most easily met with. It would seem, however, that the cogency of the argument tends to decrease as inscriptions from other parts, and particularly from Asia Minor, are studied and catalogued.[1] It would take us too far afield to discuss the question at length here; details will be found in the works of Sanday and Headlam,

[1] Cf. Milligan, *The New Testament Documents*, p. 183 n. 1: "Recent evidence from inscriptions has shown conclusively that other names mentioned in the greetings are by no means so characteristic of Rome as was at one time imagined." Similarly Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, p. 278, n. 1.

Lake, and Moffatt, already referred to. A decision on the question is not required for the purposes of the present article; it is only necessary to bear in mind that the possibility, if not the probability, of chapter xvi. not belonging to the Epistle is one of the elements in the problem before us. The difficulty on this view of accounting for the way in which it came into its present position has no doubt been one of the main reasons why scholars have continued to regard it as an integral part of the Epistle. If we can offer a plausible theory of its being found at the end of a letter to Rome and connect that with the solution of the textual problems presented by the rest of the Epistle, the considerations derived from internal criticism will certainly gain in force. It need only be added that it is not disputed by the present writer, or indeed by the majority of critics, that the chapter is Pauline, while it is obvious that there is no dogmatic motive behind the doubts expressed as to the correctness of its present position. It is a purely critical question which may be discussed entirely without prejudice.

These then are the factors in the problem. We have (1) the existence of a short recension of the Epistle, omitting chapters xv., xvi., with or without the Doxology;

(2) the various places assigned to that Doxology, at the end of chapter xiv. or xvi., or its omission altogether;

(3) the omission of the mention of Rome;

(4) the possibility that chapter xvi. did not form part of the original Epistle.

Of these (1) and (2) are undoubtedly connected, while (3) and (4) may after all have nothing to do with the problem. Let it be laid down at once that a fundamental condition of any satisfactory solution is that it must explain *how the Doxology came to be inserted precisely after xiv.* 23. It will be remembered that our present chapter divisions are quite late; sometimes they correspond to a real break in the

sense; sometimes, as in the case before us, they do not. There is in fact a close connexion of thought between chapters xiv. and xv.; "no theory therefore can be accepted which does not recognise that xiv. and xv. 13 form a single paragraph which must not be split up."[1] This condition at once rules out solutions such as those which regard both chapters xv. and xvi. as unauthentic (Baur), or as belonging to a different recension made by St. Paul himself (Renan, Lightfoot). The latest and most attractive solution of this type is that proposed somewhat tentatively by Professor Lake.[2] He suggests that Romans i.–xiv., with or without the Doxology, and without any reference to Rome in chapter i., represents a circular letter sent by St. Paul to Churches he had not visited and written at the same time as Galatians; this latter he regards as the earliest of the Pauline Epistles and as written before the Council of Acts xv. "Later on he sent a copy [of the circular letter] to Rome with the addition of the other chapters [i.e. xv., xvi.] to serve, as we should say, as a covering letter." Lake naturally compares the relation of Ephesians, also regarded as a circular letter, to Colossians, and the theory has the advantage of bringing the short recension into connexion with the omission of the reference to Rome in chapter i. He also considers chapter xvi. as an addition to the Epistle, but abandons the attempt to explain how it came into its present place. The solution is very tempting to one who, like the present writer, believes firmly in the early date of Galatians, since it accounts for the close connexion in thought and language between it and Romans; but, as has been already hinted, it does not really do justice to the conditions of the problem. For it is very

[1] Sanday and Headlam, p. xci. The verses run: "But he that doubteth is condemned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith; and whatsoever is not of faith is sin" (xiv. 23). "Now we that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves, etc." (xv. 1).

[2] *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 362 ff.

difficult to believe that Romans ever closed with xiv. 23,[1] even with the addition of the Doxology, which Lake in fact is inclined to regard as unauthentic. Further, the impression made by chapter i., with its desire to visit those to whom the letter is written, is that St. Paul had some particular community in mind, while it is not easy to suppose that Romans, with its very developed theology, going far beyond that of Galatians, was really one of the earliest of the Pauline Epistles.

In view of these considerations it is not surprising that the most generally accepted explanation is still that adopted with some hesitation by Sanday and Headlam, following Gifford. They suppose that the short recension with the subsequent confusion of text is due to excisions made by Marcion. It is pointed out truly enough that the first part of chapter xv. contradicts his whole position, and that if he found it in his copies he could not have accepted it. He therefore cut out the whole of the last two chapters, and it is supposed that his action influenced later orthodox practice. "When in adapting the text for the purposes of church use it was thought advisable to omit the last portions as too personal and not sufficiently edifying, it was natural to make the division at a place where in a current edition the break had already been made."[2] The Doxology was afterwards added to this shortened edition at the end of chapter xiv. It is further suggested that the omission of the words ἐν Ῥώμῃ was also due to Marcion on the ground that "local and personal allusions would have little interest to him." It should be added that this theory has since received additional support from von Soden, who regards

[1] I will make Professor Lake a present of the suggestion that an ending now lost originally followed xiv. 23, and that when St. Paul added the new ending he omitted the old, but then it becomes rather difficult to explain the short recension itself!

[2] Sanday and Headlam, p. xcvii.

Marcion as having had a very great influence on the text of the Pauline Epistles.

The theory has, however, been criticised by Lake. He refuses to accept as proved the supposed extent of the influence of Marcion on the canon and text of the Epistles, and as a textual critic he speaks with considerable authority. Further, there is evidence that Tertullian used the short recension and that his *corpus* of the Pauline Epistles was independent of Marcion's. It would therefore appear that Catholic collections of Epistles in which the last two chapters of Romans were omitted existed before and independently of Marcion, and the widespread nature of the evidence for their omission points in this direction. The accusation that Marcion cut them out (assuming that Origen's words are rightly interpreted to mean this) need of course imply nothing more than that the text he used did not in fact contain them. Further, as Lake points out, the recently discovered Marcionite Prologues show that Marcion did regard the Epistle as addressed to the Romans, so that the suggestion that the excision of the words "in Rome" was due to him would seem to fall to the ground. We may add to Lake's criticisms others which seem to be even more serious. Is there any evidence that the Epistles were mutilated after the end of the second century in order to adapt them for Church use? We have no trace of the omission, e.g., of 1 Corinthians xvi. most of which is distinctly personal and local. And if, as supposed, the cut was made in Romans under the influence of Marcion's text, how did the Doxology alone come to be replaced? The evidence is clearest as to Marcion's omission of this. It can therefore have been added to the shortened text only from a MS. not influenced by him. Such a MS. would presumably contain also the rest of chapters xv., xvi. Surely Catholic practice would at least have restored the first part

of chapter xv., which is in no way unsuitable for public reading? In other words, this theory too fails ultimately to account for the insertion of the Doxology in a place where it makes an entire break in the sense. At the same time it may be said that in spite of these objections it still remains the most probable of the various hypotheses hitherto brought forward.

The object of this paper, however, is to urge the claims of an alternative theory which, so far as the writer is aware, has not yet been suggested. It is really based on a hint supplied by Lake. He calls attention to the fact that in the Muratorian Canon Romans stands last of the Epistles to the Churches, and that it was also last in the collections of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen.[1] Romans is of course the longest and most important of the Epistles, and we may remark that the place of emphasis may be either at the beginning of a collection, as in our own canon, or at the end. Again, there is some ground for regarding the Doxology as un-Pauline.[2] There is no parallel to such a Doxology at the end of any of the Pauline letters, while those which occur in the body of the Epistles are nothing like so long or complicated. Ephesians iii. 5 ff. is to some extent similar in language, but the passage occurs as an integral part of the argument. Concluding Doxologies are indeed found in Jude 24 f., Hebrews xiii. 20 f., the Epistle of Clement to the Romans, and the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, but these belong to a later date, and even then are shorter and simpler. Speaking generally, such an ending smacks rather of the style of homiletics than of the epistolary style proper. Further, it is argued that its wording is not altogether Pauline. We are struck in particular with the phrase *μυστηρίου χρόνοις αἰωνίοις σεσιγημένου* ("the mystery

[1] See also Sanday and Headlam, p. lxxxiv.

[2] See Moffatt, *Int., to the Lit. of the New Testament*, p. 135.

which hath been kept in silence through times eternal"). The passive of σιγᾶν is not found elsewhere in the New Testament, and the idea goes rather beyond St. Paul's general conception of the mystery of the Gospel as *hidden* through the ages; it was spoken of by the prophets, though they did not understand it.[1] Certainly these considerations would not justify us in rejecting the verses if they stood in close connexion with their context and were not otherwise open to suspicion, but the fact of a passage occurring in various places in our MSS. always suggests that it may be a later interpolation (cf. the *Pericope* in St. John). The internal evidence therefore becomes significant when it confirms the doubts raised by the textual variations.

Now Professor Lake has brought these two facts—the position of Romans at the end of early collections of the Pauline Epistles, and the doubts attaching to the genuineness of the Doxology—into an ingenious connexion. He draws attention to the tendency of scribes to add Doxologies at the end of books, or collections of books; an outstanding example is the Doxology at the end of each book of the Psalms. He suggests that this Doxology was added in some collection of Pauline Epistles in which Romans stood last; it did not stand last in Marcion's, and this may explain why he did not have the Doxology. But my own suggestion is that we have here the key to the solution of the whole puzzle.

(1) The Epistle probably ended originally with xv. 33. St. Paul has discussed his own plans and brought the letter to a natural end; writing to a Church he has not visited, there is no need for personal salutations (there are in fact none in Galatians, 1 or 2 Thessalonians, 2 Corinthians,

[1] We are reminded of Ignatius' Λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών, and of the importance of Σιγή in Gnostic thought; is it possible that the phrase is an echo of this?

or Ephesians), and he closes with the brief prayer, "Now the God of peace be with you all. Amen." This is entirely in keeping with the short petition found at the end of most of the Epistles, the only differences being that in other cases the prayer is for grace, and that the name of Christ is usually introduced, though not in Colossians, 1 Timothy, or Titus, where we have simply "Grace be with you." In view, however, of the stress laid on peace throughout the Epistle, and particularly of the subject matter of the concluding chapters, there is nothing strange in his regarding this idea, rather than "grace," as the key-note on which he will conclude. He might have added "in," or "through Christ Jesus," but for some reason he did not, just as he omitted the corresponding reference in Colossians and other Epistles.

(2) The next step is to suppose a MS. in which the last page, or the conclusion of the roll, was lost, leaving only chapters i.–xiv.; i.e., the break at xiv. 23 was due to pure accident. There is of course nothing in the least improbable in this supposition, and we have the parallel case of the lost ending to St. Mark, which is often believed to be due to such an accident. The loss of chapter xv. may have occurred either when the Epistle stood alone or when it stood at the end of a collection. At any rate the next stage is

(3) To the truncated Epistle, placed, as we have seen was the case, last in early collections, a scribe added the Doxology, intending it simply to mark the close of the *corpus* of the Pauline Epistles.[1]

(4) The lost chapter xv. was recovered and copied in

[1] Those who object to the view that the Doxology is non-Pauline might save the theory by supposing it to be a genuine fragment of St. Paul inserted at this point, just as we find verses inserted in Gospel MSS. which, though not in place, may yet be genuine fragments of tradition.

it, the Doxology which had thus been added, while chapter xvi., a genuine fragment of St. Paul's correspondence, was also inserted as a kind of postscript to the Pauline *corpus*. It was not known to whom it was addressed, or where it really belonged, but it seemed a pity to lose it altogether.

(5) After these additions had been made it was realised that the Doxology was out of place, and it was transferred to the end, whether to mark once more the close of the Pauline *corpus*, or because both it and the added fragment (chapter xvi.) were now regarded as integral parts of the Epistle.

It will be seen that it is open to those who believe chapter xvi. to belong to the original letter to the Romans to adopt this theory in a simpler form. We need then only suppose that the last two chapters were lost under (1), while under (4) both would be restored at once instead of chapter xvi. being added from some other source. At the same time an advantage of the original theory is that it gives to those who find it difficult to regard this chapter as addressed to Rome a reasonable explanation of the way in which it came to be attached to this particular Epistle.

It is admitted that this hypothesis makes no attempt to account for the omission of the words "in Rome." But it is by no means certain that this has any connexion with the short recension; as we have seen, the suggestion that it is due to Marcion seems to break down in the light of recent discoveries, while there are objections to Lake's theory of an early circular letter. We are therefore driven back to the view that the variations in chapter i. are not connected with those in the closing chapters, in spite of the rather striking coincidence of the evidence in each case. It will be remembered, however, that the authorities for the omission of "in Rome" are far fewer than those which

come into view when we come to deal with the short recension. We must suppose that the error arose accidentally and has left traces in several quarters, or else that the omission was deliberate and was due to a desire to mark the catholicity of the Epistle.[1] It is true that we have rejected a similar explanation of the omission of the last two chapters, but that was partly because it did not account for all the facts; and it is much easier to suppose that a local Church or scribe would omit a couple of words which might seem of no importance than that he should cut out a considerable section.

No doubt it will be said that the theory is complicated, and yet it will be seen on consideration that every one of the stages supposed, except the first and the first part of the fourth—the two which turn on the non-originality of chapter xvi.—does in fact correspond to some part of our evidence.

(2) is represented by Marcion, probably by the archetype of DEFG,[2] and by the MSS. presupposed by the capitulations of *Codex Fuldensis*.

For (3) we have the general evidence for the short recension, i.e., for chapters i.–xiv. with the Doxology.

(4) and (5) are of course abundantly represented by existing MSS., with the Doxology at the close of chapters xiv. and xvi. respectively.

We may put the case thus:—

	The supposed stages.	*Evidence.*
(1)	Original Epistle ending with xv. 33	
(2)	Mutilated copy, ending xiv. 23.	Marcion; the *breves* of *Codex Fuldensis*; archetype of DEFG
(3)	Mutilated copy, standing at close of *Corpus*, with Doxology.	Breves of *Codex Amiatinus*; ? Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen.

[1] See Moffatt, *Introduction*, p. 141.

[2] See Sanday and Headlam, p. xcviii.

The supposed stages.	*Evidence.*
(4) Our present Epistle with Doxology after xiv. 23.	Extant MSS.
(5) Our present Epistle with Doxology at the end.	Extant MSS.

The fact, then, is that the variations presented by the evidence are themselves so numerous that whatever hypothesis be adopted we are bound to suppose several stages of omission or addition. It will probably be granted that in the view sketched above no one of the steps is in itself improbable, while their combination, though admittedly tentative, does seem to explain the facts as we have them.

C. W. Emmet.

THE BIRTH OF A NEW MESSAGE.

ISAIAH XL. 1–11.

We are constantly hearing in these days that the present situation is a challenge to the Christian Church. It is, however, very important to note the exact terms in which the challenge reaches us, flung out of the midst of the storm and strife of the world. If it comes at all in the form, "What ought the Church to do?" the only tolerable answer to my mind is that all her ministers and members should gird themselves for the fray in some form of service or sacrifice, military or spiritual. It is intolerable that the Church of Christ should seem even to countenance the return to a semi-monastic conception, in which two grades of ethical conduct are permitted, and the best Christians are those who are not found with arms in their hands. Yet far more often to-day—and this is the significant thing—the challenge comes to us in another fashion. It is remarkable that it should come so loudly and persistently in the form, "What has the Church to say that is worth saying?" *A voice said Cry, and I said, What shall I cry?*

What shall I cry ? says the preacher who is in earnest, and whose heart and mind are sensitive to the currents of modern thought and feeling. "No man," says Dr. W. M. Macgregor in a recent article in the *International Review of Missions*[1] to which I owe a deep debt, "can pretend to see to the end of these confusions, and an impatient sense of the futility of talking grows upon the mind. For the present it seems to many as if it were enough blindly to work their way through, leaving it to those who may come after to consider what gospel, or if any gospel, may then be left to the world." This mood that either threatens or has taken possession of many a heart has rarely been expressed with more point than in these words, or with a greater sense of the danger to which it exposes all missionary enthusiasm. It is the Church's message that seems to be in danger. Have we, or do we need another ?

There are not wanting signs that our present distress and perplexity, and the facts that give rise to them, may be the very *matrix* from which a new-born message of faith and hope will spring to life. It has been so before in the history of the world. The great missionary message of the last century was born from the midst of the situation created by the Napoleonic wars. The Saviour Himself, in the fulness of time, was born into a world that was aching for a life beyond and above the life of the senses, a world of men for whom the universe had become a terrifying place, and the individual life itself very insecure. It was a world that cried out for σωτηρία, "security," "salvation." And the insecurity was the spiritual fruit of the martial conquests of kings, from Alexander to Caesar.

In Isaiah xl. 1–11 we have the description, so clear in its spiritual psychology, of the birth of a new message under circumstances very like our own. The whole chapter

[1] Oct. 1915.

makes vibrate nearly all the chords of the eternal human heart. A nameless prophet tells us how his great timeless message of comfort and of grace came to him. The message of the first Isaiah was born in the Temple. The great evangelical message of the second prophet whose work has been incorporated in the book, was born amid the realities of pain and sin and death in the world itself. *The grass withereth ; the flower fadeth, because the breath of the Lord bloweth upon it.* By grass he means men, and by flowers all that is fairest and most noble in human life. Note the significance of his message. The sorrowful facts of life are themselves made to contribute to its triumph. They have a place as captives with chains on their necks in God's message of love and victory. *The grass withereth, the flower fadeth ; but the word of our God endureth for ever.* This is not the brave acceptance of an antinomy of thought by an obstinate and obscurantist faith ; neither is it the statement of an irreducible antagonism that abides till the end be. *Say unto Zion that her warfare is accomplished.* At an end is the Church's time of " spiritual conscription," of " enforced endurance "—as the word translated " warfare " means—a time when, as in our day, faith strove to carry the problems of life like a burden on its back. *I will bear and I will carry, saith the Lord,* through this exilic prophet elsewhere (Isa. xlvi. 3, 4). The Church has often sought, in her quest of a new message, to come to terms with the thought of the time and so to construct a new gospel. The message that she longs for never comes in this way, but is born of God within her soul. It springs from the heart and lips of some prophet: *O thou that tellest good tidings to Zion, get thee up into the high mountain.* The prophet is one who can ascend to a height, from which he sees very clearly the ruins of cities, the graves of brave men, and the homeless people. He sees the great caravan of exiled

Israel waiting to start on the weary return journey. He sees beyond these sights; he sees God. In them, beyond them, around them, God is on His way, *Behold your God.* To-day the message is come to the birth; is there strength to bring forth?

It is a strangely modern situation, when we think of it, out of which the new Gospel springs in the prophet's heart. It is characterised by the sound of conflicting voices. They seem to stir in the air. Some are like the plaintive voice of human sorrow, *Comfort ye.* Some are like the sound of the trumpet rousing to greater effort, *Prepare ye.* Some are addressed directly to the prophet himself and to his class, *The voice of one saying, Cry.* "Speak," they say to us to-day. "You at least ought to know what to say in the name of a religion that claims to conquer the world. You have your pulpits in every town and village; your missionaries in every land. We want to know what you think." Amid them all, there rises the despairing voice of the sorely embarrassed and burdened prophet himself, *I said, What shall I cry?* In that mood there falls upon his ear another voice, the most hopeless and despairing of all. It has taken such hold on his heart that he seems for the moment to utter in a voice hardly his own, and echoing what he hears: *All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof as the flower of the field; the grass withereth, the flower fadeth; because the breath of the Lord bloweth upon it; surely the people is grass.* It is like the utterance of the mood that Meredith has expressed in the lines where he speaks of nature's pitilessness:

> Not she gives the tear for the tear.
> Weep, bleed, writhe, be distraught,
> She is moveless.

The marvel is that out of the very confusion of these voices, in the travail of the earnest, listening, agonising heart of the prophet, sensitive to every chord that vibrates in the soul

of the people whom he loves, is born his gospel. With an infinite sympathy the message takes up the cries of men, and suddenly becomes the very voice of God. *The grass withereth, the flower fadeth ; but the word of our God endureth for ever.*

It is a gospel, because it is born not of abstract thought but of the sheer need of humanity. News, if it is news at all, must tell us more than the obvious facts : to be good news it must be greater and stronger than these. *Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah ?* Over and over again, in quieter times than these in which we live, religious men have met in public and in private to discuss the forms and the terms of the " new message." Clever men have written in their studies about it. Yet all the material for the work was not there. We once heard of a " new theology." It was evolved in time of peace, but with all its sympathy for perplexed and doubting minds, many of us felt that it was inadequate to meet the facts of life. Now, in time of war, it has been disowned. The true material on which thought must work is now here in abundance. *I wept much,* said the New Testament seer, *because none was found worthy to open the book, or to look thereon.* It was the book of the destinies of men. The vision of the Eternal Lamb in the midst of the throne, *standing as though it had been slain,* is vouchsafed still, but only to the eye dimmed with tears. It is an old-fashioned way, accessible to the dullest, the poorest, the most despised—this way of tears that leads to the assurance of God's love. Too often, in days gone by we have spoken of abstract things like pain, sin, death ; we have tried to fashion in our thoughts another abstract thing called " Christianity " to meet them. Instead, to-day, we have tears, and tears are visible only in the eyes of individual men and women, symbolic of single lonely and aching

hearts. This Old Testament prophet did not see all that was visible to the seer of Revelation; yet the withering grass and the fading flower in the message of the great exile prophet stand for the hard facts of pain, sin, and death, incarnate in single individual lives. It was thus that even the message of Jesus was born in Galilee and in Jerusalem. There is no such thing as "forgiveness" in the New Testament; there are only forgiven men and women. Jesus first spoke of forgiveness, as He looked on a man with limbs made helpless by his own sin, let down through the roof at his feet by the hands of kindly friends; or as He looked at the bowed figure of a woman, whose sin the Pharisee, in whose dining-room he sat, pronounced incurable. "Forgiveness" for Him was the answer to the foul slander uttered against the possibilities of the common heart touched by the grace of God. So did He speak of resurrection in a situation as individual and personal as could well be conceived—looking into the face of a stricken woman whose brother lay dead. Thus also will the great new message of the Church for to-day be born. In the presence of dying men, mourning women, fatherless children, withering nations, and falling dynasties, the new message will spring to life.

The message is both new and old. It is the Word of the Lord which abideth for ever. It is eternal. It is the life with which it comes, its timeliness, its reality that is new. It was the sense of this, not any timorous solicitude for the contents of the Gospel, that wrung from Paul the defiant words: *Though I, or an angel from heaven, should preach unto you any gospel other than that which I preached unto you, let him be anathema.*

Take some words of Jesus Himself as the classical expression in human speech of the Word of God. His whole Person was a Word, *the* Word, and His sayings are

part of Himself. *The words that I speak unto you they are spirit and they are life.* Is it not true that His words rise in our hearts to-day with a new meaning? Our lives are being simplified as never before. Stern compulsion, and the needs of natural and personal economy, are our masters in this respect. Had we not once a gentler Master who was saying to unheeding ears, *Take no anxious thought for your life, what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?* Is this not a time when, in spite of all that men may say about the passions that war engenders, men's affections are being deepened, and the range of their loving interests enlarged? Have some of us not been making unwonted neighbours and friends among our wounded men and our stricken women? Yet, did not He say, *A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another?* Or take the call of national duty. To-day the call of the State has come to many and still comes, setting before them the plain path of military and national service. He who said, *Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's,* clearly never contemplated that what we conceive to be due to God should ever by any possibility interfere with a patriotic call in a most righteous cause. None more clearly than Jesus has countered the position that any religious idea whatever can stand athwart the plain path of duty. *Are there few that be saved?* was a religious question of great urgency. The answer to it was a call to duty. *Agonise to enter in at the straight gate*; or again, *Ye say, If a man shall say to his father or mother, this, that I have, might have been at thy service, but it is Corban, given to God; ye no longer suffer him to do aught for his father or mother.* I venture to think that the case would not be altered when not only our own parents are concerned, but

others' also ; fathers, mothers, sisters, children everywhere in our own and other lands. That is what "country" means to our soldiers. Shall we say in obedience to a religious idea, "Life is neither mine to give nor to take. It is God's, Corban"? Would not Jesus Himself say of such an attitude, *Ye make void the word of God*, on a plain duty, *by your tradition"?* Our new message, when it is given to the Church, must include these timeless ideas. We need badly a new message about our Christian duty to the State.

It is a new message, because it is a message of power ; and real power is always new where it appears ; like the light of the ancient sun, new every morning. *The Lord God will come as a mighty One*, says the prophet. What he saw in the withering grass, and the fading flower, was the death in countless hearts of light and love, hope and joy. Can more deadly slaughter of this kind be laid to the account of war than to that of peace ? The new-born message must assuredly be one that shall sound forth when war shall cease, and men are exposed to the deadly dangers of a quiet life, without changes. In war, we are called on to prepare for the temptations of peace. The wages of all sin is death. Something vital is killed within us when we sin. Our sins—not only the gross sins—are scarlet, stained with our own life-blood. Therefore the new message must be a message with the power of forgiveness and resurrection in it. *Her iniquity is pardoned. Behold your God!* This unknown prophet of the exile is conscious that his message is one that he is not ashamed to set alongside the allied facts of sin and death. The present world-order, the withering grass and the fading flower, has a divine redemptive force at work in it —the Word of our God, that abideth for ever. It is the power of Him who raised Jesus Christ from the dead. Even the Old Testament prophet makes us feel it as he speaks to us from his high mountain, telling the good tidings. He

begins with comfort and grace, and ends with power, manifested through the healing touch and the guiding hand of the Great Shepherd on the scattered and driven nation; *He shall feed His flock like a shepherd.*

The impersonal mass of the nation has become a flock. It is the tragic fact that in the last resort and final issue, all oppression, violence, overweening ambition in rulers and the curse of war itself, result in a great company of impoverished, maimed, and broken lives, and in lonely, desolate, and stricken hearts. Perhaps that is one of the reasons why Destruction and Death on such a scale are permitted. They disintegrate as nothing else does, before our eyes, the mass of life, and individualise it. This is a good thing for those to see, who seek a new message. Shall our message be less individual and personal in its scope than Destruction and Death? You cannot pour forth compassion on a problem; only on living men and women. And thus the prophet's call closes, on that birthday of the gospel in his heart, with the vision that is really his gospel in action. He sees the nation, after her time of trial and exile—her time of enforced endurance of pain—as a company of weak men and women. They are as sheep not having a shepherd, and God, he says, shall shepherd them. The "Pentecost of calamity," careless of the individual life, has become a Pentecost of individual power. It is as though the pre-existent Son of God were looking out through the prophet's eyes before the fulness of time, upon the multitude, with the compassion that is also power. He must do so still if our message is to be with tenderness and with strength. We are moved with compassion because Christ is within us. He cannot leave the wolf to tear and scatter His sheep. In Jesus Christ the sheep are ours. So is it that in the prophet's and the preacher's message for to-day, bringing with it, like a new-born child, a great fountain of love, that great picture

of the Shepherd-God must find a place. It must find it, if that message is not to mingle with the dust of the coming years. It is a message whose touch is grace, healing, strength, beauty, courage. *He shall feed his flock like a shepherd ; He shall gather the lambs in his arms, and carry them in his bosom ; and shall gently lead those that are with young.* A word like that must be followed up by deeds ; deeds on the part of those who proclaim it with their mouths, and deeds on the part of those who receive it by faith in their hearts. Nay, our words themselves shall be deeds. It is a message that brings with it God's own power who speaks it. If it has leaped to life within us, become bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, then when it is born in pulpit utterance, or in the language and outward expression of our whole Church life, or in a new-born conception of Christian duty ; when we realise that after all, when they are driven and scattered, men ask of the Church rather, " What sayest thou ? " than " What doest thou ? "—as though our words ought to be as real as deeds—none of us will any longer ask in embarrassed weakness and hesitation, *What shall I cry ?*

R. H. Strachan.

CHRIST'S CONFIDENCE IN HIS DOCTRINE OF THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD.

Of all the truths Christ taught, the Fatherhood of God is the most His own. It is the truth that is most bound up with His Name and most distinctive of His religion. Believers in Christ " call upon the Father "—they " worship the Father."

In the course of revelation there is a gradual ascent in the conception of the character of God and His relationship to man—an ascent which is made and marked by a new cen-

trality. The ascent culminated in Christ and His manifestation of the Father. In the Old Testament we have hints of this gracious relationship. But while this is true, it is also true that in effect the Fatherhood was a fresh discovery of Christ; it was abrupt, unheralded, bursting on the world like a great light, preluded by no dawn, and taking at once a dominating place in the sphere of revelation.

Mr. J. H. Tuckwell, in his *Religion and Reality*, shows that in mental evolution there are what, in biological science, are known as "discrete degrees." These are stages when sudden accessions of fresh truth to the attainments of the past make such extensive and qualitative changes that they are like original conceptions. He illustrates his point from the physical world. Water up to 32° F. is solid. Though up to heat-point, heat may have been all the while accumulating, no qualitative difference is observed. But at this stage, which is termed a "discrete degree," a physical mutation takes place, and the solid is at once transformed into a liquid. At 212° F. another "discrete degree" occurs—boiling point—when the liquid is as suddenly transformed into vapour.

The manifestation of God as the Father was a "discrete degree" in revelation.

But we may go further with the analogy. The mutations in the physical world are made by the introduction of a new force into the process of evolution. So this new conception of the character of God—the Fatherhood—needed a new organ to mediate it. It was an insight into the divine nature too deep and intimate for the prophets, and possible only to the Son (Heb. i. 1).

The confidence with which Christ taught the Fatherhood appears in many ways.

First, it appears in this—that while new to the world,

it was a presupposition with Himself. To say this, is to give the strongest proof of His confidence in it. The postulates of a life are the bed-rock on which it is built. Christ's faith in God as the Father was instinctive. It was inwoven with His life at the foundations; it was impressed on the springs of His soul.

Now it is this native consciousness of the Fatherhood, in Christ, along with His perfect filial spirit that is the deepest ground of our own faith in it. *Such a spirit could not have been sustained had the relationship not been a reality.* His defence (John v. 19) when He was accused of blasphemy for speaking of His oneness with the Father, showed a son's heart in a way than which none could have been more convincing of its reality. He virtually said—"You treat as a crime what is a necessity of My nature. A good father makes his son his confidant, admits him to his own thoughts and purposes, draws him into his own interests, shares with him all that is best in his own life—his purest aspirations, his noblest aims, his dearest hopes. A good son responds to his father's love, so that they live in each other's lives. A good son imitates his father. That is the son nature. Why does a son glory in being like his father? Is it in vanity? Is it to make himself the equal of his father? No, it is out of pure love and devotion. He is proud to be like his father. He cannot but speak the words of his father, he cannot but do what he sees his father doing. So it is with Me and My Father. You blame me for My filial spirit. I make my Father's life the pattern of Mine, and for this you turn against me."

In the second place, we have proof of the confidence with which Christ taught the Fatherhood, in what I have alluded to as the centrality which He gave to it. No teacher will give a central place to truth of which he is not well assured. That Christ regarded the Fatherhood as cen-

tral, as what it was His business above everything else to make known, is indubitable. To "know the Father" is, He said, "life eternal." It was on the Fatherhood He threw all the weight alike of human need and human hope. His estimate of man's spiritual condition, as good or evil, altogether depended on his acceptance or rejection of this relationship. He taught that the supreme obligation of man is the necessity that as a child he be like his father. "Be ye . . . as your Father." He taught us that the worst aspect of sin is the alienation it involves of the child from the Father, that the main aspect of redemption is the restoration of the child-heart in man, that we touch the quick of our need only when we see ourselves as the lost children of God, and that it was the Father's heart in God that moved Him to seek and save us.

Such was the centrality of the Fatherhood in the teaching of Christ.

There is a third note of confidence—the note of repetition and insistence. There is no part of Christ's teaching which is so recurrent as the Fatherhood. It was "a Presence not to be put by." He always spoke of it as holding the secret of the world's hope, as sure that men's belief in it would be to them like life to the dead.

> "The undelivered tidings in His breast
> Suffer him not to rest:"

So we may say of Christ and the good news of God's fatherly love. To tell it, was the necessity that was, above all others laid upon Him. His life was consecrated to this one purpose.

Once more, we can tell what are the things of which a man is most confident and to which he feels that he can most certainly devote himself by the way in which he regards them—by the pleasure with which he dwells on them—when he comes to take his last retrospect of life. Now on the eve

of His passion Christ found His greatest comfort in the consciousness that He had left nothing unsaid, nothing undone to bring men to the knowledge of the Father; and that His teaching had been effective, that the disciples had received it. "I have manifested Thy Name with the men whom Thou gavest Me out of the world. I have given unto them the words which Thou gavest Me, and they have received them and have known surely that I came out from Thee, and they have believed that Thou didst send Me." There is ecstasy in these words. In that hour of the power of darkness His spirit was uplifted with a great joy. He had a double satisfaction. First, in His having been a *faithful* Teacher; He had left nothing uncommunicated to His disciples of His own knowledge of His Father. Next, in His having been a *successful* Teacher; the disciples had believed His doctrine. One of the last and most fervid expressions of the disciples' faith was elicited by the way in which He had spoken to them of the Father. It was at their farewell meeting (John xvi. 30). He had met the disquietude and fear with which the prospect of His departure had filled their hearts, by assuring them that the Father Himself would, in answer to their prayer in His name, supply all their need; and they immediately replied: "Now are we sure that Thou knowest all things, and needest not that any man should ask Thee. By this we believe that Thou camest forth from God." What they meant was that He had no need to be told what they were thinking, what they were fearing, what they were hungering to know. They had no need to explain their hearts to Him, to tell Him the questions that were pressing on their souls. He understood what they would ask. His words found them. What He had said about His Father showed that He knew what was in their hearts. He knew how to quieten them. They thus gave their testimony to these two things—first, that the

deepest cry of the human soul is for the Father, and next that Christ had met that cry.

Is the heart of the Eternal a Father's heart? Has He forgiveness for our sins and pity for our weakness? Is He touched by our need? Is He moved by our prayers? These are the things which, above all others, we crave to know, and Christ has made us sure of them.

There is a timidity on the part of many in giving the Fatherhood the supreme place in our theology which accords ill with the mind of Christ. Their fear is that it tends to diminish our awe of His righteousness, His justice and the majesty of His law. The very opposite is the truth. That His authority is paternal rather than magisterial, that the law of our nature is the necessity that as children we be like the Father, that He can be satisfied with nothing short of our oneness with Himself, immeasurably heightens our moral obligation. So the Scriptures teach. "If," says Peter, in his first epistle, "*Ye call on the Father* . . . pass the time of your sojourning here *in fear*." The fear of God is what may be peculiarly expected of those who believe in His Fatherhood. There is no authority so awful as a father's. There is none that carries such sacred and binding sanctions. There is none that makes sin so exceeding sinful. If we excuse our sin by an easy appeal to His love, if we live as we like, and expect Him to comply with our humours, we show that we have never felt His love. The motives by which we are constrained to obey a father go immeasurably deeper than those by which we are led to comply with a legal obligation. The fact that we are under grace and not under the law binds us all the more to rectitude. The most awful judgment-seat to which we can be brought is that silent session of our own thoughts, in which ingratitude and disobedience to a father come up to our remembrance. There is a sense in which we may

say that *God's love makes Him unforgiving*. "You only have I known of all the families of the earth: *therefore* I will punish you for all your iniquities." The more gracious He has been to us, and the nearer He has come to us, the more certainly will He not pass by our sins. We are most intolerant of evil in those we love most, we fear most to offend those we love most. In this sense the very end of forgiveness is fear—"there is forgiveness with Thee that Thou mayest be feared."

That the deepest relationship between God and man is that of father and child might be expected when we look at the structure of life. We may be sure that whatever in God's nature was most essential for us to know, He would use the surest medium to make us know. Now, as the forces that act upon us, morally as well as physically, are powerful in the proportion of their nearness, and the constancy of their action, it follows that the most influential place among them is the parental relationship. And must not the ultimate reason for its primacy be, that it is the best image of God's own relationship to man, and that which makes it easiest for us to understand and trust the Unseen Love that stretches back beyond all memory and forward into all the future, that anticipates all our need, that never disappoints our trust, and that must at all cost save its own?

W. Morison.

REMARKS ON THE HEBREW OF GENESIS.

There is nothing bound to be more up-to-date concomitantly with the course of events and with political life than a language. The Hebrew style used in the Old Testament ought not to be an exception to this rule. If, therefore, we can find in this style some words and expressions which would betray the current of the Aramaean hegemony, or

the Assyrian domination or offering slight savour of the Hellenic invasion, it would not, perhaps, be absolutely impossible to believe that books exhibiting such a style might have seen the light, at least in the form in which we read them to-day, in the time of the Aramaean recrudescence in Coele-Syria, and in a century not much earlier than the first Hellenic struggles with the Achemenids, when continual engagements prepared the western spark of invasion, which, small as it seemed to be, was about to become, some decades later, the deadly fire which burnt to the root the last effort of a free political life in the remnants of the once prosperous people of Yahweh.

Some five hundred years before our era, Aram had, according to the best authorities, got a strong hold over Syria,[1] and especially over the country round Damascus, and could only be gradually dispossessed by the Hellenic invasion. On the other hand, the Assyrian language, having lost the sacred prestige that it had possessed for many centuries in the past, the majority of the Semitic population of Southern and North Western Mesopotamia spoke also Aramaic.[2] But that a language should have distinct traces on the dialects of the neighbouring people requires indeed many years of continual transactions, especially in a case where this intercourse has not been effected by force of arms, but by frequent occurrence of facts dealing with the necessities of daily life.

When the classic period opened by the arrival on the spot of Greek writers, the most sacred localities of Israelitish worship were infested by the current of Aram, and the new comers, looking only at a narrow side of the question and

[1] Lagrange's *Etudes sur les Religions Sémitiques*, 1905, Nöldeke's *Die Namen der Aram. Nation u. Sprache*, in Z.D.M.G. 25, 113, and 47, 99.

[2] Cf. G. Maspero's *Histoire Ancienne des peuples de L'Orient*, vol. iii. pp. 783 sq.

not distinguishing clearly between languages so foreign to theirs, confounded them generally and called them by the inadequate vocable *Hebrew*. This title, if understood in its general sense of Semitic dialects closely akin to each other, as we would call to-day *Latin* languages even nearer to the language of Cicero than the Italian and the French, would not be utterly wrong; but both vocables have been too much confused with each other in some unduly chosen circumstances, and this confusion by outsiders led, in later generations, to lamentable errors. Cf. the instance of the words "Armaeans," "Aramaeans," and "Syrians."

By way of specimen, we give, with due reserves, three words which would perhaps betray a foreign influence on the Hebraic literature and would somewhat impair the purity of the style used in the Book of Genesis. If more of these words may be found and if their lexicological identity is scientifically established grave consequences will have to be admitted as to the epoch of the appearance of many Books of the Old Testament.

(i. 9): *And Elohim said:* (*Let*) *the waters under the heaven*(*s*) *be gathered to one place.*

The word used to express "to gather" (יִקָּווּ) is considered by some critics as a verb of an unknown etymology, and is derived by some others from the Hebrew and Arabic triliteral root, meaning respectively "to wait," "to be strong." This derivation seems to fall from the object and cannot commend itself to philologists. More probably, therefore, this verb responds to the corresponding Aramaic root[1] קבא, meaning precisely "the waters gathered." The sense is obvious and does not need explanation. Cf. Exodus vii. 19; Isaiah xxii. 11, etc. The confusion has been

[1] It is somewhat amazing that no reference is made to this Syriac verb in the *Hebrew and English Lexicon* of Gesenius-Brown. Cf. the Arabic *jaba*.

made by subsequent scholars who took this verb with which they were not familiar for the derived form which means in Aramaic and in Hebrew "to wait." But there is here a curious phenomenon to which we wish to draw attention.

It is a well-known fact that the Aramaeans of the South-Eastern parts of Syria and of all Mesopotamia pronounced of old and pronounce to-day the soft sound of the letter *beth* as a simple *Waw*.[1] The Hebrew writer, or, according to Naville's theories,[2] the Hebrew translator, seems to have spelt this verb as he heard it pronounced by some Eastern Aramaeans, not thinking deeply of its etymological derivation. Generally speaking, as the corruption of the sound B into W in the Aramaeo-Syriac language is not very ancient, we may be allowed to suppose that the use of this verb in such a form is relatively recent.

(xv. 17.) *And it happened that the sun went down and it became dark; and behold a smoking furnace; and a lamp of fire that passed between those pieces.*

The word used to express *lamp* לפיד, is certainly not Semitic, but it is possibly the Greek λαμπάς-άδος guaranteed by the unquestionable verb λάμπω and by many derived words which cannot suffer the slightest tergiversation. The Persians, too, have the word *lipān*, from the stem *lip*, to express "shining, bright." Moreover, the morphological combination of *Lâmedh*, *Pé* and *Dâlath* is not much to the taste of the Semites. The Aramaeans, more versed in Greek, and more quickly Hellenised than the Hebrews of the last centuries B.C., in using this Greek word, transcribed it rightly with a mīm (*Lampīd*) instead of *Lapīd*. (Notice that the Persian root has no mīm.) The existence of the word in one of the most ancient

[1] See our Syriac Grammar, 1905, No. 3.

[2] *Archaeology of the Old Testament*, 1913, pp. 1–29, etc.

documents of Hebrew history would possibly suggest that its use might be assigned to an epoch not very far from the time when the Israelites began to mingle somehow in Hellenic circles, and this can hardly have preceded by many centuries the general deportation to Babylonia. From the Greek and the Latin roots this word is used to-day in many modern languages under the form of *lamp*.

(xii. 15.) *And the princes of Pharaoh saw her and commended her before Pharaoh.*

The word used here to express "princes" שָׂרֵי, though frequently occurring in Hebrew literature and even in Hosea v. 10, has a certain relation with the Persian *Sar*, meaning precisely "head, prince" (in Z. *sara*), and constituting with compounds, in the court of the Achemenids, and in later centuries in that of the Arsacids and Sasanids, one of the most frequent titles given to high officials. The Assyrians who were mingled continually with the Persians use it sometimes to designate a "king," but it has never been used by any other branch of the Semitic stock, and it is compensated in Assyrian also by the Semitic root *Malku*. The Aramaeans have the root *Sharrī* with a *Shīn* to express *to begin*, but there is not any derived form to mean "head, prince." Further, this word being simply biliteral [1] cannot commend itself to the genius of the Semitic languages, which in nouns and verbs have a marked predilection for triliteral vocables. If we find this word employed in Hebrew books, we may possibly suppose that it has been borrowed from the Assyrians at the time of the captivity, or taken directly from the Achemenids.[2]

[1] The reduplication of the *Resh* is of Massoretic origin; cf., the Arabic form Sārah.

[2] At a later period a verb was fabricated from this substantive; see the passages in which it is employed in Gesenius-Brown Lexicon.

Strictly speaking, this Perso-Aramaic influence, if any, may be explained by conclusions drawn from the Book of Genesis itself, which refers the origins of the Israelites to Abraham, a Mesopotamian tribal chieftain; the history of Jacob and Laban, as narrated in this Book, would tend to prove this fact with certainty. But the correct Syriac sentence *Îgar Sahadūtha* (xxxi. 47) would constitute, whatever might have been said to the contrary, a seemingly good objection against the attempts of some scholars who give to the actual linguistic form of this Book too high an antiquity, which would almost make us reach the limits of the pre-historic. At any rate the above words, possibly of foreign origin, deserve careful consideration.

Ryssel [1] has already pointed to the probability of an Aramaic influence on the Hebrew style of many Books of the Old Testament, but we deem that the researches of a good Semitic scholar, equally strong in Aramaic and in Hebrew, who would study afresh the subject, will not be completely devoid of interest. On linguistic grounds, in order to safeguard many Biblical questions from attacks by freethinkers, we would believe that in the opinion of Naville—who thinks that almost all the sacred text of the Old Testament was worded in Aramaic and then translated into classic Hebrew some five to seven centuries before our era,[2]—there are true and genuine facts. König's[3] attacks seem to contain a few assertions which for linguistic reasons are to be discarded.

Some philological words of explanation about the name *Sarah*, Abraham's wife, will not be here out of place.

Nöldeke[4] writes as follows:—"שׂרה wird viel natür-

[1] *De Elohistae Pentat. Sermone*, 1878, pp. 25–35, and 69 sq.
[2] *Op. supr. laud.* pp. 1–29; and 140 sq.
[3] EXPOSITOR, 1914, No. 44. and 45 of the eighth series.
[4] Z.D.M.G., vol. 40, p. 183; and vol. 42. p. 484.

licher als Fem. von שׂר angesehen denn als Ableitung von שׂרי . . . die andre Form שׂרי enthält das alte Fem. Suffix, das auch in Syrischen noch als *ai* vorkommt (in Arabischen *Yā*)."

From this quotation it would appear that we have to believe that *Sarai* and *Sarah* have really the same meaning, "princess," the only difference between them being simply that Sarai exhibits an older morphological form. This theory which, if we mistake not, is the only serious one which has hitherto been put forth, does not seem to be decisive.

Because (1) it fails to explain why a change of name has taken place. According to the habit of the Old Testament writers and of the general Eastern custom, a change of name involves a change of functions. The new functions of Sarah are explained in the next verse (xvii. 16): "I will bless her and give thee a son also of her; yea, I will bless her, and she shall become nations; kings of people shall be of her."

Because (2) we cannot see why, in the judgment of Nöldeke, the *Yōdh* should be considered in the Semitic languages as an older form of feminine than the more natural *Taw*, softened, as usual, into a *Hé*, an *Aleph*, or a *Yōdh*. The contrary assumption seems even to be phonetically more alluring.

To be more in harmony with the sacred text, we might resort to another explanation. I think that the *Yōdh* placed at the end of Sarah limits her function of "princess," "mistress," to Abraham, and means "my mistress."[1] With the change of the *Yōdh* into a *Hé*, Sarah's function of "mistress" has been generalised to everybody by her being "*the* mistress of nations and kings of people."

[1] Such familiar way of speaking is found in our days in many Eastern families.

This interpretation is grammatically guaranteed in the three sister-languages, and especially in Aramaeo-Syriac where every declinable word has in its absolute state an *Aleph* preceded by a *zḳâfa*, corresponding phonetically to the silent and terminal *Hé* or *Aleph* of the Hebrew and to the accusative case of the Arabic and its feminine *tâ'* in case of pause. The vowel *pataḥ* given to the preceding letter, being a simple vocalisation of the Massoretes, is not irrefragably genuine, and ought not to be relied upon for critical purposes. The broad conclusion which Driver draws from it in his verdict, "The explanation, *my princess*, is philologically impossible," [1] is therefore too categorical and philologically not convincing.

As a proof of our assertion we may quote the Aramaic word Mār(i) mas. or Mārt(i) fem. meaning precisely "my master," "my mistress." This vocable has become, as in the case of Sar(i), a proper noun, borne by many well-known persons. Cf. many Hebrew proper names ending with a *Yōdḥ* preceded by a *pataḥ;* ex. gr. Addonai "my Lord," Elshaddai, etc.

In our Syriac grammar (Nos. 318 sq.), we have shown that the paragogic Aleph of the Aramaic which, as stated above, corresponds to the Hebraic *Hé*, is in most cases to be considered as a determinative article, or as a suffix generalising the meaning given by words, and that its apocopation, really limits this meaning and makes these same words undetermined. We do not see why we should deviate here from this principle. On the other hand Nöldeke's view, that שׂרה *princess* is the feminine of שׂר *prince*, is in accordance with what we have already demonstrated.

A. Mingana.

[1] Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv. 403.

THE MOSAIC ORIGIN OF THE DECALOGUE.

The Fourth Commandment.

3. Objection has also been taken on several grounds to the fourth commandment—chiefly on account of the prominence it assigns to the Sabbath, and to its inculcation of the duty of rest. The fact that of all the "holy" seasons it is specially singled out is held to tell heavily in favour of an exilic date. During the exile, when the people, dwelling in an "unclean" land, were no longer able to offer their sacrifices and pour out their drink-offerings to Jahweh,[1] the Sabbath was the only sacred season Israel was able to observe; and the observance of the Sabbath soon became a test of fidelity to the covenant.[2] Its importance in this regard is attested by Nehemiah's vigorous measures to protect it from the encroachments of an unscrupulous commerce,[3] and the almost idolatrous form which this reverence could assume is illustrated by the story in P of the man who was stoned to death for gathering sticks on the Sabbath.[4] Another passage in P definitely speaks of the Sabbath as a covenant, "a perpetual covenant," and a "sign" between Jahweh and the children of Israel for ever.[5] In the light of all this, it is easy to see how naturally the fourth commandment fits in with Steuernagel's view of the Decalogue as an "exilic catechism of the religious and ethical duties of Israel."

But the Sabbath may just as well be very early as very late. The Book of the Covenant and the ritual Decalogue, besides enjoining the observance of the seventh day (Exod. xxiii. 12, xxxiv. 21), also prescribed the observance of other

[1] Hos. ix. 4.
[2] Isa. lvi. 2, 6.
[3] Neh. xiii. 15–22; cf. Amos viii. 5.
[4] Num. xv. 32–36.
[5] Exod. xxxi. 16 f.

sacred festivals—the feast of unleavened bread (xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 18), the feast of wheat-harvest or weeks, and the feast of ingathering (xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22); and the significant absence of these feasts from the ethical Decalogue may fairly be held to point away from the later days of the settlement in Canaan when those agricultural feasts were natural and explicable, back to nomadic days when they would have been unintelligible. If we are thus justified in carrying the fourth commandment back to Mosaic times, the absence of any reference to the Passover may have a special significance.[1] The Passover appears to have been a very ancient nomadic institution, reaching far back beyond the historical beginnings of Israel, and thoroughly familiar to that people in the time of Moses. Indeed it is abruptly introduced in J (Exod. xii. 21) as *the* Passover, as if it were an already existing institution; and, although the use of the Hebrew article does not actually compel this interpretation, it is the most natural, especially when we consider that the important festival which the Hebrews ask permission from Pharaoh to celebrate by a pilgrimage and a sacrifice (iii. 18, v. 1, vii. 16, viii. 27, x. 9) was in all probability this very Passover. Doubtless the *argumentum e silentio* is always precarious, and especially so in a résumé so brief as the ten commandments; but it is at least interesting to note that if, in a summary of Israel's duties, the omission of the Passover by a legislator to whom it must have been perfectly familiar was deliberate, the Decalogue would be animated not only by an ethical but also by what we may call the anti-sacrificial spirit which the prophets seem—at any rate to one important school of interpreters—to ascribe to the earliest legislation of Israel. It comes out most strikingly in Amos v. 25:—

[1] Gressmann says simply: "Mention of the Passover was unnecessary, as it was already domesticated" (*Mose und seine Zeit*, p. 476).

> Was it sacrifices and offerings that ye brought unto me in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel ?

words which imply that then, as ever, the divine demand was not ritual, but moral. "No," is Amos' answer to his own question, but "let justice roll down as waters, and righteousness like a perennial stream" (v. 26). It comes out in Micah vi. 6–8 :—

> Shall I come before Jahweh with burnt offerings, with calves a year old ? Will Jahweh be pleased with thousands of rams ?

And again the implied answer is No : for "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good : and what doth Jahweh require of thee but to do justly and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God ?" In "He hath showed" there seems to lie, as in Amos, a reference to Jahweh's demands in the olden time, which were not only moral, but moral—it would seem—as opposed to ritual. Lastly, it comes out almost more unequivocally in Jeremiah vii. 22, "*I spake not* unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, *concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices :* but"—the context and the early verses of the chapter imply—the obedience He demanded was obedience to a moral law. This would not only sweep away the whole of P as post-Mosaic, but would carry us towards just such demands as we find in the ethical Decalogue. It would take us too far afield to pursue here this line of discussion further, but it is not unimportant.

In favour of the view that the Sabbath is very early rather than late is its association with the manna, according to the story in Exodus xvi. That story, in its present form, is no doubt very late : but it contains a genuine, if faint, reminiscence of those far-off days when Israel was familiar with the manna which is still found in the Sinaitic

peninsula. "What interest," asks Gressmann,[1] "could later writers have had in associating the Sabbath with the manna, which was absolutely unknown on the soil of Canaan?"

The antiquity of the institution of the Sabbath, in some form or other, is perhaps suggested by the word *Remember* which introduces the Exodus version of the commandment, though this may possibly betray the later hand. The division of time into periods of seven, resting no doubt upon observation of the phases of the moon, is found among the Babylonians long before the time of Moses, and there is no reason why Moses should not have adopted it, and, by giving it a secure place among the fundamental demands of the Jahweh religion which he was instituting, transformed it. It cannot for a moment be maintained that the Babylonian Sabbath was, in any vital sense, the counterpart of the Hebrew Sabbath. True, a special significance attached to the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first and twenty-eighth days of the month, but also—strangely enough—to the nineteenth, perhaps because 19+30 (a rough reckoning of the lunar month) yield a multiple of seven. On those days the liberty of the *king's* action was restricted in certain directions; but this is far from giving us the Hebrew Sabbath. Again, the Babylonian word *shabattum*, which was explained in a cuneiform text to mean "day of rest of the heart," was deceptively like the Hebrew Sabbath, both in sound and in sense. It has been ascertained, however, from a lexicographical tablet that this term was used to designate the fifteenth day of the month—in other words, that it really means the period of full moon; and a reminiscence of this usage perhaps occurs in the phrase "new moon and Sabbath" which

[1] *Mose*, p. 462.

meets us occasionally in the Old Testament.[1] But again it is not certain that even the words are related. Professor Ungnad maintains that *shapattu* is undoubtedly the original form (a word possibly connected, he thinks, with *sha*, heart) and that the Hebrew form *shabbath* is due to a popular etymology connecting it with the verb *shabath* to cease.[2] Further, it is clear that the phrase "rest of the heart" refers not to the resting of the human heart, but to the pacification of the divine heart. "The day of rest of the heart was simply a technical term for a day of pacification, that is to say, one on which it was hoped that the angered deity would cease from manifesting his displeasure,"[3] and its Hebrew counterpart was rather the day of atonement than the Sabbath. Thus the analogy between the Hebrew and Babylonian Sabbath is more apparent than real, and Professor Jastrow is fully justified in saying that "the Hebrew Sabbath, steadily moving away from its earlier connotation, assumed a totally different character, and became one of the most significant contributions of the Hebrews to the spiritual treasury of mankind. Its separation from any association with the moon's phases, to be celebrated every seventh day without reference to a lunar calendar, marked the complete departure from the Babylonian shabattum."[4] But while the difference is very great, the resemblance is sufficient to show that there was a mould at hand, into which Moses could pour his new conception of religion, and that there-

[1] 2 Kings iv. 23; Amos viii. 5; Hos. ii. 13 (A.V. 11); Isa. i. 13.

[2] *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Feb. 6, 1915. "Ich halte es für nicht ausgeschlossen dass es ein mit ša, Herz, zusammengesetztes sumerisches Lehnwort ist."

[3] M. Jastrow, *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, p. 137. Chap. iii. is an illuminating discussion of *The Hebrew and Babylonian Sabbath*. The facts are well summarised in Stade, *Biblische Theologie des Alt. Test.*, vol. i. pp. 176–178.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 173.

fore the Sabbath, and consequently the fourth commandment, may well be as old as Moses.

An objection has been raised, however, from another side. It has been urged that, as addressed to nomads, the command to rest would be meaningless. "The Sabbath," says Mr. W. E. Addis,[1] "implies the settled life of agriculture. An agriculturist needs rest and can rest from tillage. A nomad's life is usually so idle that no day of rest is needed, while, on the other hand, such work as the nomad does, driving cattle, milking them, etc., cannot be remitted on one day recurring every week."[2] In that case not only would the expansion be post-Mosaic with its very significant reference to the "sojourner within thy gates," but also the original form of the commandment itself. But what was that form? The injunction to abstain from work really belongs to the expansion, and the original form of the commandment would simply run, "Remember" (or "observe") "the Sabbath day to keep it holy." It by no means follows that rest was originally involved in the idea of a "holy" Sabbath. The holy day would be a day set apart, in some sense, for Jahweh, and the conception of what it involved would develop as the conception of Jahweh Himself developed. We have already seen that the Sabbath had a history. The happy, one might almost say merry,[3] Sabbaths of pre-exilic times become the austere Sabbaths of the post-exilic period, in accordance with a growing severity in the conception of Jahweh. The way in which the Sabbath might be observed as a holy day in the ninth century B.C. is illustrated by an incidental remark in the story of the Shunammite's visit to Elisha, from

[1] *Documents of the Hexateuch*, vol. i. p. 139.

[2] Cf. Cornill, *Culture of Ancient Israel*, pp. 44 f., who appositely quotes Luke xiii. 15.

[3] Hos. ii. 13 (11).

which it may be safely inferred that it was the custom for people in need of enlightenment or guidance—whether on such matters as that on which, two centuries before, Saul consulted Samuel,[1] or possibly also on higher and more distinctly spiritual matters—to go to a prophet or "man of God" for an answer.[2] When Mr. C. G. Montefiore asks, then, whether the fourth commandment in its ultimate form does not "imply the qualifications which follow it and thus rest upon conditions of agricultural life unlike those under which Moses could have conceived and promulgated any legislative code,"[3] we must answer, "Not necessarily." The context of Isaiah i. 13 suggests that in the eighth century, as probably long before, if not from the very beginning, the Sabbath was a day of worship. There is little positive proof that it was observed in pre-exilic times as a day of rest. Here again, however, we must beware of the fallacious *argumentum e silentio*, and we must remember the meagre and relatively incidental nature of our sources; and certainly the allusion in Amos viii. 5 shows that commercial transactions at any rate were normally suspended on the Sabbath day; and if the story of the manna and its connexion with the Sabbath does, as seems probable, preserve a real reminiscence, then —in spite of what we have said about the possibly wider latitude of the term "holy" as applied to the Sabbath—it would seem from the first to have involved abstention from work.

Indeed, when we consider the negative form of all the commandments except the fourth and the fifth, the question may fairly be raised whether, in their original form, these may not also have been negative. One hesitates to

[1] 1 Sam. ix. 6.
[2] 2 Kings iv. 23.
[3] *Hibbert Lectures*, 1892, p. 554.

suggest a negative form for the fifth commandment—partly because, after all, there is no absolute necessity that all the commandments should have been cast in the same original mould, and partly because the Exodus and Deuteronomy versions agree in their wording of the ultimate form *Honour*, etc.; but from a law in the Book of the Covenant [1] we might infer, as a possibly original form, "Thou shalt not revile thy father or thy mother," and regard the positive command to honour parents as the expression of a more developed family consciousness and ethical standard. It is certainly interesting, though it may of course be accidental, that, apart from the Decalogue, there appears to be no other allusion to a son's obligation to honour his father till we reach the post-exilic book of Malachi (fifth century).[2] The honour which David is said to have paid to another man's father [3] is not really relevant to the present discussion.

But, assuming the original form of the fourth commandment to have been conceivably negative, we are not debarred, as in the fifth commandment, from the attempt to discover it, by the fact that the two versions are harmonious, for, as we have already seen, they are not so. The one (Exod.) reads *Remember*, the other (Deut.) *Observe*, so that there is really no authentic tradition of the ultimate form of the fourth commandment. This is all the more strange when we consider Deuteronomy's fondness for the word *remember*, and the temptation to use it here. This diversity in the tradition, coupled with the positive form in which both traditions are expressed, raises the question whether the fourth commandment may not have originally run: "Thou shalt not do any work (מלאכה business) on the seventh day." This possibility becomes at least worth considering when we note that neither in the Book of the Covenant

[1] Exod. xxi. 17 (cf. 15). [2] i. 6. [3] 2 Sam. x. 3.

nor in the ritual Decalogue does the word *sabbath* occur in connexion with the law of weekly rest,[1] and when we further remember that the word in the time of Moses may possibly not have denoted every seventh day. We know that the Babylonian shapattum designated the fifteenth day of the month: it *may* also have designated the other sacred days recurring weekly, but meantime there is no proof of this. Consequently, if Moses wished to enjoin the weekly celebration of a sacred day, he may not have been free to use the term.

Assuming, then, that the original form of the commandment may have been, "Thou shalt not do any work on the seventh day," we are brought in a more imperative form than ever before the question whether this is such a command as could have been delivered to nomads: and this brings us back to the further question whether those to whom the commands were addressed were really nomads, or only semi-nomads, as they have been called. As has often been pointed out in recent years, the patriarchal life reflected in Genesis is only semi-nomadic. Isaac, who had possessions of flocks and herds, "sowed in that land."[2] While Joseph's brethren are travelling with the flock, he himself has a dream of sheaves in the field.[3] In other words, there was a certain permanence, and even agricultural experience, in life that we customarily think of as nomadic.[4]

[1] Exod. xxiii. 12: Six days shalt thou do thy work, but on the seventh day thou shalt desist; xxxiv. 21: Six days thou shalt labour, but on the seventh day thou shalt desist. In both cases, however, the verb is שבת (תִּשְׁבֹּת, but in LXX. of xxiii. 12 ἀνάπαυσις).

[2] Gen. xxvi. 12. [3] xxxvii. 5 ff.

[4] Sellin (*Zur Einleitung in das Alte Test*, p. 14) remarks that everyone who knows the life of the Bedouin in the districts that border on the Kulturländer will bear witness that "the tribes that move about in tents not only till the fields regularly but they have their teacher and their physician, their rich and poor, and they stand in fixed relations to particular sanctuaries."

We have only to apply this notion of a relatively settled life to the situation of Israel after the exodus, to see that there is a place in it for the fourth commandment. The traditions point to the importance of Kadesh, which was doubtless for a considerable period a centre, as its name suggests that it was a sanctuary. In such a place the fourth commandment could have been observed and may well have been promulgated, especially since, as we have seen, the division of time into weekly periods was already long familiar. The abstention from work would no doubt be utilised then, as to-day, as an opportunity for worship, and gradually, as Israel's experience in the settled and city life of Canaan grew, this opportunity was expanded, in the spirit of the great lawgiver, to bring within its beneficent scope the humbler members of society and even the animals.

J. E. McFadyen.

THE ENIGMA OF TITUS.

MANY attempts have been made to account for the fact that the name of Titus, one of the most important among the secondary figures of the Pauline age, should never be mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. A careful study of the question has led me to offer not indeed an explanation of this much debated omission, but certain suggestions, which may account for it.

The first appearance of the name of Titus in the New Testament occurs in the autobiographical passage at the opening of the second chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians. St. Paul writes: "Then fourteen years [after my conversion] I again went up to Jerusalem with Barnabas, having taken along with me Titus also."[1] He then proceeds to describe how his firmness of attitude enabled him to frustrate all the efforts that were made secretly by certain false brethren to bring his teaching of liberty to the Gentiles into disrepute with the accredited leaders of the Church, and he adds: "Not even Titus, my companion, Greek though he was, was compelled to be circumcised."[2] Now this visit may with well-grounded assurance be identified with that made by Barnabas and Paul, when at the time of the famine they carried alms from Antioch for the relief of the poor Christians of Judaea. The date of this mission was the spring of 46 A.D.[3] Titus must therefore have been amongst those earliest Greek converts at Antioch, whose

[1] Gal. ii. 1. [2] Gal. ii. 3.
[3] Acts xi. 29, 30. See the writer's *Bampton Lectures*, 1913, pp. 74–76.

admission, as uncircumcised Gentiles, into the Church stirred up a bitter controversy, which was later to grow in intensity and to last for many years.[1] As Paul in his Epistle to Titus addresses him "as his own true child in the common faith"—*Τίτῳ γνησίῳ τέκνῳ*—it may be presumed that his conversion was due to the Apostle himself,[2] one of the firstfruits of his mission to the Gentiles. In the Acts Luke, after telling of the prophecy of Agabus concerning a coming famine and of the resolve of the disciples at Antioch to make a collection for the relief of the poor brethren that dwelt in Judaea, sums up what followed in the briefest possible fashion—"which also they did and despatched it [the alms] to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul." It is characteristic of Luke never to waste an unnecessary word. He probably had no personal knowledge of the visit, but the bare record of it is given because it was an event which brought Paul into personal relations with the Church at Jerusalem. Even were he aware that Titus accompanied Barnabas and Saul as an assistant minister—*ὑπηρέτης*—in the task of distributing the alms, it did not fall within his purpose to introduce this fact or any other details concerning this eleemosynary mission in his sternly compressed narrative.

We thus see that we depend entirely upon the autobiographical passage from the Epistle to the Galatians (quoted above) for the knowledge that Titus was the companion (in 46 A.D.) of the almsbearing delegates from Antioch to Jerusalem. Now the introduction of Titus' name in this polemical epistle implies that those to whom it was addressed were personally acquainted with him, and further that this acquaintance must have been of comparatively recent

[1] Acts xi. 20 ff.; Gal. ii. passim, vi. 11–16; Rom. ii., iii., iv., and elsewhere.

[2] Tit. i. 4. Compare 1 Tim. i. 2.

date. What was that date? The second Epistle to the Corinthians furnishes the answer. In that epistle occur the only other notices of Titus by name made by St. Paul during the period covered by the Acts, and internal evidence shows that that epistle and those to the Galatians and the Romans were written within a few months of each other, the first in Macedonia, the other two at Corinth, while Paul was sojourning in those parts towards the close of his third missionary journey between the autumn of 56 A.D. and the spring of 57 A.D. It was on this third Missionary journey, then, that we find Paul and Titus as fellow-workers, and it is not difficult to conclude that if Titus had recently visited the Churches of Galatia in Paul's company it must have been at the beginning of this journey, when the Apostle on his way from Antioch to Ephesus passed through the Churches of Galatia in order in the summer of 53 A.D. But if so, again the question arises, Why is there no mention of Titus in the Acts as accompanying Paul in this part of his journey? To answer this question it is sufficient to quote the entire passage from Acts dealing with this Galatic visitation. "And when he had landed at Caesarea, he went up and saluted the Church and went down to Antioch. And having spent some time there, he went through the Galatic country and Phrygia in order, establishing all the disciples."[1] Thus after leaving Antioch a journey, which cannot have occupied less than two and probably more than three months (for the historian lays emphasis on the fact that all the disciples throughout an extensive district were visited in order), is briefly described in a dozen words. Again, as in Acts xi. 30, we are confronted with one of Luke's reticences. We are not told that Paul had any companions, nor is a single incident mentioned as taking place from the time of leaving Antioch

[1] Acts xviii. 22–23.

until the arrival at Ephesus in the autumn. Whatever the reason for this brevity, it exists, and it is obvious that in one short verse there is no room for any reference to Titus.

At this point it is well to point out, that there is not the slightest evidence to show that Titus ought to be placed amongst that numerous band of disciples who from the time of their conversion by him attached themselves to St. Paul's person and carried out various missionary work under his direction as his subordinates; it would seem rather that Titus was himself an "apostle" [1] charged by some Church with a special mission, and that that Church was the Church of Antioch, in which city, probably his native place, he had, as we have seen, been one of the earliest Greek converts. He may have been starting for a missionary tour in western Asia just at the time when Paul arrived at Antioch from Jerusalem, and it would have been only natural that these two, whose earlier relations had been so intimate, finding that their roads lay in the same direction, should have journeyed together across Asia Minor. The mission of Titus would necessarily be different from and less wide than that of St. Paul, being conditioned by the fact that he was a Greek and uncircumcised. Paul's message was always "to the Jew first," that of Titus must have been strictly limited to the conversion of Gentiles like himself.

There is no record that he at this time accompanied Paul

[1] It is very important to bear in mind that in New Testament times the title "Apostle" was by no means confined to the Twelve. It meant a missionary sent out with a special commission. Barnabas and Paul were called Apostles in this sense, Acts xiv. 14, Barnabas was an apostle in the same way that Andronicus and Junias are spoken of as "Apostles," Rom. xvi. 7, or as Paul himself uses the term elsewhere in his Epistles—for instance, 1 Cor. xii. 28–29, 2 Cor. viii. 23, xii. 11. He himself claimed a rank equal to that of the Twelve, because he, as they, had received his commission direct from the Lord Jesus. The evidence for this is overwhelming. See Luke xxiv. 10, Eph. iv. 11, Rev. ii. 2. Harnack, *Exp. of Christianity*, i. 398–412; Kirsopp Lake, *Early Epistles of St. Paul*, 108–110.

to Ephesus. Perhaps his sphere of work may have lain in Colossae, Laodicea and Hierapolis, where Christian Churches were undoubtedly founded about this period. In this task Paul himself took no personal share, for he confesses in his Epistle to the Colossians sent from Rome, 61 A.D., that the Christians of these cities did not know him by face.[1] Possibly Smyrna, Pergamum, Sardis and other towns with a Greek population may have been also visited. After an interval of some two years Titus must have rejoined Paul at Ephesus, for there is very strong circumstantial evidence in a number of passages in 2 Corinthians that he [Titus] had been the bearer of a severe epistle from Paul to Corinth, written perhaps in the early spring of 56 A.D.[2] Paul, who left Ephesus in the late spring or early summer of that year, journeyed by way of Troas to Macedonia. At Troas we find him eagerly expecting the arrival of Titus with news of his experiences at Corinth. "I had no relief in my spirit," he writes 2 Corinthians ii. 13, "because I found not Titus my brother at Troas." And then a little later in this epistle are many references to this Corinthian mission of Titus. The following quotations[3] present no difficulty of interpretation. "When we had come into Macedonia our flesh had no rest, but in everything we were afflicted, fightings without, fears within; but God, who comforteth the depressed, He comforted us by the coming of Titus, and not only by his coming, but also with the comfort with which he was comforted concerning you, while telling us your longing, your mourning, your zeal for me, so that I rejoiced the more. For though I grieved you in my letter, I do not regret it, though I did regret it, for I see that that letter, though but for a time, did grieve you.

[1] Col. ii. 1.

[2] This epistle in its entirety is lost, but many critics believe that a portion of it is imbedded in our present 2 Corinthians, i.e., chapters x.–xiii.

[3] 2 Cor. vii. 5–8 and 13–14.

. . . For this reason we have been comforted, and in our comfort we joyed the more exceedingly for the joy of Titus, because his spirit hath been refreshed by you all. For if in anything I have boasted of you to him, I was not put to shame ; but as we spoke all things to you in truth, so our boasting also, which I made before Titus, was found to be the truth." This boasting here spoken of can only have been made at Ephesus after the return of Paul from a brief visit to Corinth, which had been unsatisfactory. A number of Judaising emissaries called by Paul "false apostles" had been doing their utmost to undermine his influence and to flout his authority. What actually occurred we only know through the hints given in 2 Corinthians,[1] but the result was that Paul returned to Ephesus, where he wrote the severe epistle above referred to, and sent it by the hands of Titus. He appears to have impressed upon Titus his firm belief that the Corinthians, though easily misled, were at heart sound and filled with affection for him. It may be assumed that Paul chose Titus to be the bearer of the epistle because of his knowledge of Titus' character and the personal qualities which fitted him to deal with a difficult and delicate situation. With what success his mission was attended and this confidence justified the words of the apostle (quoted above) abundantly testify. Nevertheless, as Paul, after meeting Titus, was unable to carry out immediately his intention of paying what is described twice over by himself as a third visit to Corinth, he proceeded to write another epistle one of whose objects was to appeal for a liberal contribution to the fund he was raising for the relief of the poor Christians in Judaea. Once more therefore he applied to Titus. "We exhorted Titus," he writes, "that as he had made a beginning before, so

[1] 2 Cor. xi. 13, 22, 23 ; 2 Cor. ii. 3, 4 ; vii. 8, 11, 14; xiii. 1.

also he would complete amongst you this grace also.[1] His request met with the readiest acceptance. "Thanks be to God," the Apostle continues, "which putteth the same earnest care for you into the heart of Titus. For indeed he accepted our exhortation, but being very earnest of his own free choice—*αὐθαίρετος*—he went forth unto you."[2] These words indicate that Titus was not one of St. Paul's regular assistant-ministers, the position that he held was an independent one. The importance of that position is indeed marked by the fact that two of these assistant-ministers were sent with him on this commission.

Concerning these two St. Paul writes: "We have sent together with him the brother, whose praise in the Gospel is throughout all the Churches, and not only so, but who was also appointed by the Churches to travel with us in the matter of this grace which is ministered by us to the glory of the Lord and *the showing forth of* your readiness . . . and we have sent with them our brother, whom we have oftentimes proved earnest in many things, but now much more earnest because of the great confidence he hath towards you. Should any questions be asked about Titus, he is my partner—*κοινωνὸς*—and my fellow-workers to you wards or concerning our brethren they are delegates—*ἀπόστολοι*—of the Churches, Christ's glory."[3]

Notice first that the employment of the term *κοινωνὸς* with regard to Titus here confirms that estimate of his relatively independent status, which was inferred from the use of the word *αὐθαίρετος* above and from the general tone of Paul's references to him. The internal evidence, as to this, all points in the same direction.

The names of the two companions of Titus on this occa-

[1] 2 Cor. viii. 6.
[2] 2 Cor. viii. 16, 17.
[3] 2 Cor. viii. 18, 19, 22, 23.

sion can only be surmised. The suggestion that "the brother, whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the Churches" was St. Luke is clearly wrong. The word Gospel here, and wherever it occurs in the Pauline epistles, means the preached Gospel. The written Gospel of St. Luke was not yet in existence. Besides, the whole form and character of the narrative of this third Missionary Journey of St. Paul tell us that Luke was not with the Apostle from the time he set out from Syrian Antioch in 53 A.D. until he left Philippi on his second visit to that town on his return journey from Corinth in 57 A.D. Except for the record of certain events at Ephesus during the "three" years' sojourn, which he derived probably from Paul himself or from Aquila and Prisca, Luke's account of the whole of this journey could scarcely be more meagre. There is not a word about a deputation from Corinth to Ephesus or of the short visit which Paul paid to Corinth in the course of his Ephesian residence. Nothing about that collection for the poor Saints at Jerusalem, which all this time was filling the Apostle's mind and engaging so much of his attention, first in Galatia, doubtless also in Ephesus and the neighbouring Churches of Asia, then later and with most success in the Macedonian Churches, notably Philippi, and lastly in Corinth. Corinth indeed, to which Church three epistles were written during this third journey, is never once mentioned by name in that section of the Acts which deals with it. The only way to account for such sweeping omissions, omissions which include as a detail the omission of the name of Titus, is that Luke at this time did not form part of Paul's company, but was engaged elsewhere.

If not Luke, then, who was "the brother, whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the Churches, and who was also appointed by the Churches to travel with us in the

[1] Probably two years and a quarter, i.e., portions of three years.

matter of this grace, i.e., charitable collection"? It seems to me that the key-passage to the solution of the question is to be found in Acts xix. 21, 22: "Now after these things were ended," i.e. Paul's dealings with certain exorcists and magicians at Ephesus, "Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem. . . . And having sent into Macedonia two of them that were his assistant-ministers—διακονούντων αὐτῷ—Timothy and Erastus, he himself stayed in Asia for a while." Now from the Epistles to the Corinthians we learn that the collection of alms for the poor Christians of Judaea had been made in the Churches of Galatia and that one of the chief objects of the proposed circuit of the Apostle in Macedonia and Achaia was the gathering of further alms, in order that he might take them with him to Jerusalem. But the actual collecting of alms in a number of churches situated in different districts is a long and troublesome business, and it would not be carried out by the Apostle himself, but by some deacon chosen by himself and officially recognised by the Churches. The person whom the Galatic Churches would naturally appoint for this task would be Paul's constant companion and best loved disciple, their own countryman, Timothy. And this was the man, accompanied by Erastus, sent on by the Apostle from Ephesus (Acts xix. 22) to forward the work of the collection in Philippi and the Macedonian Churches, so as to prepare the way for St. Paul's coming in person.

Now we learn from 1 Corinthians iv. 19 that before this Paul had intended to send Timothy not to Macedonia, but direct to Corinth, "who [Timothy]," he writes to the Corinthians, "will call to your remembrance my ways which are in Christ, as I teach everywhere in every Church." But towards the close of the epistle (1 Cor. xvi. 10) in a passage giving directions about the collection we gather that

the visit of Timothy had become doubtful, and it is clear from quotations already given from 2 Corinthians that as a matter of fact he did not go, Titus went in his place. That the description of "the brother, whose praise is in the Gospel throughout the Churches" is applicable to Timothy can scarcely be disputed. Above we see St. Paul speaking of this beloved disciple as being familiar with his teaching, or, as he elsewhere styles it, "his Gospel,"[1] everywhere in every church. At an earlier time he wrote to the Thessalonians, "We sent Timothy . . . our fellow-worker in the Gospel of Christ—*συνεργόν ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*—to establish you and exhort you concerning your faith."[2] And some years afterwards to the Philippians,[3] "But ye know the proof of him [Timothy], that as a child to a father, he served with me for the forwarding of the Gospel—*σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐδούλευσεν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.*" That on this particular journey, in which the collection of alms was a special object, Timothy was throughout the travelling companion of the Apostle may be gathered from a series of references.[4] Timothy indeed joins with Paul in the opening greeting of 2 Corinthians, but this rather strengthens than otherwise the argument that he was the brother appointed by the Churches for the actual task of making the collection and of bearing the alms when collected. It was a task which could only be discharged by one closely associated with St. Paul and trusted by him. As a matter of fact the salutation at the opening of the Epistle to the Philippians is in the joint names of Paul and Timothy, but in that case, as in this of 2 Corinthians, there is good reason for believing that Timothy accompanied the bearer of the Epistle and

[1] Rom. ii. 16; 2 Cor. xi. 4; Gal. ii. 2, 7, 14.
[2] 1 Thess. iii. 2.
[3] Phil. ii. 22.
[4] Acts xix. 22 and xx. 4; 1 Cor. iv. 17 and xvi. 10; 2 Cor. i. 1; Rom. xvi. 21.

that he was charged with a special mission to the Church to which it was addressed : [1]

But if Timothy were "the brother, whose praise in the Gospel is throughout all the Churches," who was the other companion of Titus on this occasion? St. Paul describes him as "our brother—τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν—oftentimes proved earnest in many things, but now much more earnest because of the great confidence he hath towards you." [2] The answer is surely Erastus. This man had been sent from Ephesus with Timothy into Macedonia, when Paul decided to stay for a short time longer in that city. The object, for which they were sent in advance was almost certainly to press on, as we have said, with the collection of alms, so that this matter should be well in hand before the Apostle's own arrival. Unnecessary delay would thus be avoided. It must be remembered that Paul had fixed the date for his visit to Jerusalem so that his time was limited. Moreover Erastus was himself a Corinthian, for it may be reasonably assumed that he was the Erastus, whose salutation to the Church of Rome was sent by Paul from Corinth at the same time as he sends that of Timothy.[3] Moreover, St. Paul speaks of this second companion of Titus not as τὸν ἀδελφὸν,[4] but as τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν,[5] a delicate distinction implying that this brother was not merely a fellow-worker of the Apostle, but a fellow-citizen of those to whom he was writing—a relationship which further explains the words "now much more earnest because of the great confidence he hath toward you"—a confidence based on personal knowledge.

The question then as to why Titus, who occupies so prominent a place in St. Paul's second Epistle to the Cor-

[1] See the writer's *Bampton Lectures*, 1913, pp. 108, 111, 112.
[2] 2 Cor. viii. 22.
[3] Rom. xvi. 21, 22. See also 2 Tim. iv. 20.
[4] 2 Cor. viii. 15.
[5] 2 Cor. viii. 22.

inthians and who is also named in an important passage of Galatians,[1] should never be mentioned by Luke in the Acts, appears to present little difficulty. The word "enigma" has been applied to it, but with small justice. At the risk of repetition let us summarise the results arrived at.

In Galatians Paul tells us that Titus accompanied him and Barnabas on their visit to Jerusalem in 47 A.D. From 2 Corinthians we learn that Titus brought from Corinth comforting intelligence to Paul in Macedonia [probably at Philippi] concerning the state of the Corinthian Church, and that of his own accord at the Apostle's earnest wish he undertook a second mission to that city with two companions, chiefly with the object of giving vigorous direction and encouragement to the collection that was being made for the poor Christians in Judaea. Now let us turn to the Lucan narrative. Of the visit in 47 A.D. Luke gives not a single detail; he merely records that such a visit took place. It is even more remarkable that the sojourn of St. Paul in Macedonia and Greece in 56–57 A.D. meets with precisely similar treatment. Not a single incident is mentioned, nor any reference made to the Apostle's companions or activities, until he started on his return journey from Macedonia to Jerusalem. Not one word about Corinth with its parties and feuds and difficulties, nor indeed of any other town that was visited. There is no allusion to that collection for the poor, which, as both the Epistles to the Corinthians tell us, filled so large a place in Paul's mind. This being the case, let me ask, Was it possible for the name of Titus to be introduced either in Acts xi. 30 or in Acts xx. 1–3? Why Luke treated with such severe brevity certain episodes of St. Paul's life, while he dealt with others so much more fully we can only conjecture? Of the mission

[1] The later epistles in which the name of Titus appears do not belong to the passage covered by the Acts.

to Jerusalem in 47 A.D. and the travels in Greece in 56–57 A.D. he probably had no personal knowledge; and though he had access to first-hand information it possibly did not fall within the plan of his work to record it.[1] It is to be noted as a curious fact that both in 47 A.D. and in 56–57 A.D. collections were being made in Gentile cities for the poor of Judaea and that the alms so collected were actually carried to Jerusalem by St. Paul. Perhaps Luke, as a Greek, had no special sympathy with an object to the furtherance of which the Apostle of the Gentiles—at heart a Hebrew of the Hebrews—devoted himself at once from a sense of duty and of expediency with so much energy.

For some eight or nine years after this mission to Corinth the career of Titus is a blank to us. The Epistle to the Romans was written at Corinth in the early spring of 57 A.D., shortly before the apostle's departure on his way to Jerusalem. The salutations at the end of that epistle contain the names of Timothy and Erastus,[2] not that of Titus. Nor is the name of Titus to be found in the list of those who accompanied Paul on his return journey from Macedonia into Asia.[3] The presumption is that he had already left Corinth before the Epistle to the Romans was written on some independent mission. Was that mission the evangelisation of the southern part of the country vaguely known as Illyricum or Dalmatia which stretched along the Adriatic? St. Paul mentioned in Romans xv. 19 that he had fully preached the Gospel as far as Illyricum—*μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ*. He implies, however, that he did not himself cross the Illyrian boundary, indeed it would appear that in the short space of time that he spent in Greece that it was impossible for him to have done so. It is but a con-

[1] It must always be remembered that to write on papyrus rolls economy of space was an absolute necessity.

[2] Rom. xvi. 21, 23. [3] Acts xx. 4.

jecture, but may not Titus have returned from Corinth to Macedonia to report the result of his visit and the condition of the collection in that Church, and then, after accompanying the Apostle along the Via Egnatia, have continued along that great highway to the Adriatic coast? The epistle which bears his name tells us that Titus had been about 65 to 66 A.D. left in temporary charge of the Church in Crete with instructions for its organisation. There is every reason to suppose that his sojourn in that island was intended to be a very brief one. "I left thee in Crete," writes the Apostle, "for this cause, that thou shouldest set in order things that were lacking and ordain presbyters in every city, as I appointed thee."[1] But he was to be quickly replaced. "When I shall send Artemas or Tychicus unto thee, hasten to come to me to Nicopolis; for there I have determined to winter."[2] There are several places named Nicopolis, but it is generally thought that the Nicopolis here mentioned is the one that lay upon the Adriatic coast. We do not know whether Titus joined the Apostle or not, but one last notice associates his name with this coast as a special sphere of labour. In the time of his final imprisonment at Rome, while awaiting death, St. Paul feels himself deserted and asks Timothy to hasten quickly to come to him, for all his companions have left him, save Luke only.[3] "Titus," he writes, "is departed unto Dalmatia."

GEORGE EDMUNDSON.

THE PHYSICAL CAUSE OF THE DEATH OF CHRIST.

ON the death of Principal Sir William Turner, in February, many tributes appeared in medical and other scientific journals. In the *British Medical Journal*, of February 26,

[1] Tit. i. 5. [2] Tit. iii. 12. [3] Tim. iv. 10.

Professor Arthur Keith, of London, wrote: "When the medical history of our time comes to be written, Sir William Turner's name will find a place in the very first rank. . . . On the thread of his life is strung all the beads of British anatomy for half a century and more. . . . He was for fifty years the outstanding figure in British anatomy."

In 1911 I sent the Principal a reprint of an EXPOSITOR (October) article on "The Broken Heart of Jesus." In acknowledging it he sent me three typograph pages on the subject, dealing with it partly from the point of view of artistic representations of the crucifixion and more definitely from the scientific point of view as an anatomist. It might have been published at the time, but that he wished in collaboration with his friend, the Rev. Dr. Gray, of Rome, to make further examination of the greater paintings during his holidays in Italy. Miss Turner kindly searched for me among her father's papers and found the article to which he had never been able to make any addition. She sends it, along with correspondence that he had carefully preserved; but on communication with Dr. Gray, I find that as regards the paintings, artists had conventionally come to represent the spear-thrust as aimed at some point on the right side. Only in a Rubens "Crucifixion" in Münich is there an exception to the conventional rule. Regarding this Turner said, "It would be interesting to ascertain how Rubens was led to make this change in the spear-wound."

But it is the scientific conclusion of our great anatomist that is of supreme value, and he wrote:—

"St. John relates the piercing of the side with a spear, and states that this was not done until after Christ was dead, and after the soldiers had parted his raiment among themselves. The expression that from the wound 'forthwith came there out blood and water' has led to some discussion on the immediate cause of the death of Christ.

That which most commends itself is the explanation given by Dr. Stroud, which has been energetically supported by Sir Alexander R. Simpson, that in the agony the heart, or one of its great arteries, ruptured into the bag enveloping the heart, into which the blood escaped. I have examined several cases of rupture, both of the heart and of the great artery, in which the pericardial bag was greatly distended and the blood had separated into clot and watery serum. The statement which has been made by some writers, that this separation does not take place when the blood flows into the pericardium, is therefore incorrect; for the clot in such a case forms a cake surrounding the whole or the greater part of the heart and remains for days without undergoing decomposition. If the pericardium were to be pierced shortly after the rupture by a sharp weapon, such as a spear, both blood clot and watery serum would escape from the wound. That the blood and water at the crucifixion, as has been surmised by some, had been derived from a bleb formed on the outer surface of the body and evacuated through puncture by the spear, and not from within the chest is a wild conjecture, altogether unsupported by evidence."

St. John xix. 34–35 is central in the mystery of the universe, and in the Revelation of God. Let all the broken-hearted, who are overwhelmed in viewing the rehearsal of Armageddon that is going on before our eyes find their way to Calvary and see God that was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself when that human heart broke and poured out its life-blood for us.

ALEXANDER R. SIMPSON.

[NOTE.—The above was one of the very last things written by Sir Alexander Simpson. Two days after it was received he was knocked down and killed by a motor car in a dark Edinburgh street.—ED. "EXPOSITOR."]

THE INTERPRETATION OF JOHN VI.

THE ordinary interpretation of this chapter is somewhat as follows. The Evangelist begins by repeating, with the additional touches of an eye-witness, the Synoptic narratives of the Feeding of the Five Thousand and the Walking on the Lake (vers. 1–15, 16–21). He then describes the means by which the Five Thousand followed Jesus to Capernaum (vers. 22–24), and the teaching which He gave them there, using the miracle of feeding as an acted parable of the spiritual food which Christ alone can give—the Bread of Life, which comes down from heaven (vers. 25–40). The Jews object that one whose human parents they know cannot have come down from heaven. Jesus does not set them right on the point of biography, but repeats His claim, and extends the metaphor by speaking of the necessity of eating the Bread of Life, that is, His flesh (σὰρξ) which He gives for the life of the world (vers. 41–51). The Jews again object that this is impossible; and Jesus replies with a fuller statement of plainly Eucharistic teaching—"My flesh is real food and my blood is real drink: he who eats my flesh and drinks my blood remains in me and I in him" (vers. 52–59). This is the climax of the chapter, and is followed by an epilogue in which Jesus insists that His teaching (though it offends even the disciples) is the essential source of life (vers. 60–65), and extracts from St. Peter a confession of faith (corresponding to that described in Mark viii. 29 and parallel passages), "Thou hast the words of eternal life; and we have believed and known that thou art the Holy One of God" (vers. 66–71).

The main difficulties of this interpretation are as follows:

(i.) *The lack of connection between the miracle and the discourse.*

A formal connection is made in verse 26. But this is broken again in verse 27–28, where the idea of "doing God's work" has only a verbal likeness to that of "working for the bread of life," and in fact looks away from its present context to v. 17. Moreover the Jews' request for a sign in verse 30—a sign in the form of a miracle of feeding analogous to Moses' gift of the manna (ver. 31)—although a suitable introduction to the teaching about the Bread of Life, comes with startling inappropriateness immediately after Jesus has worked just such a miracle. Similarly in verse 32, where the context demands a contrast between Jesus' miracle of feeding and His gift of the Bread of Heaven, we find instead a contrast between Moses' gift of the manna, and Jesus' gift of the Bread of Life, as though the Feeding of the Five Thousand had never taken place. Indeed it must be admitted that the bulk of the discourse would be just as effective, and parts of it more so, if removed from the context of verses 1–27. The contrast between the earthly bread and the heavenly is spoilt by the introduction both of Moses' miracle and of Christ's. It is difficult not to think that the discourse, with its comparison between Moses' "bread from heaven" (ver. 31) and the spiritual bread of the New Covenant, once existed independently of the narrative of the Feeding of the Five Thousand, and that the chapter as it now stands is a rather clumsy piece of compilation.

This impression is strengthened by the way in which the story of the Walking on the Lake is introduced, merely (it would seem) as a traditional pendent to the Feeding of the Five Thousand, and without in any way influencing the discourse which follows. It is possible, as some editors do, to find Eucharistic symbolism in the mysterious coming of Christ to His disciples. But there is nothing in the discourse which suggests this reason for the insertion of the

story. The connection between narrative and discourse is even less necessary here than in the case of the miracle of feeding.

(ii.) *The discourse in a synagogue at Capernaum.* Christ's interlocutors are at first "The multitude" (ver. 22) of Galileans, the five thousand who had seen the miracle of feeding, and who had followed Jesus across the Lake to Capernaum. In verses 41, 52 they are called "the Jews," a term which John uses both in a wider sense to mean the Jewish nation as a whole, and any part of them (in Galilee, Jerusalem, or Judæa), and also in a narrower sense to mean the Jewish authorities at Jerusalem. In verses 60, 66 we are told that the audience included "the disciples." In verse 67 Jesus speaks, as though no longer in public, to "the Twelve," Peter makes a personal confession of faith (ver. 68), and the treachery of Judas is foretold (ver. 71).

It would be difficult enough under any circumstances to bring all these characters on and off the stage without confusion. But the matter is complicated by the note in verse 59, "These things said he in the (or a) synagogue, as he taught in Capernaum." Is this meant to imply that all the teaching which precedes (since the arrival of the Galilean crowd at Capernaum in verse 24) was given in a Synagogue in that place? And, if so, are we meant to infer that the conversation with the disciples which follows verse 59 did not take place on the same occasion? Or, on the other hand, are we to take this note as a sign of compilation, and to suppose that only a part of what precedes constitutes the synagogue discourse, possibly that part of it which is introduced by a reading from the Old Testament in verse 45? In either case the unity of the chapter becomes suspect, and doubt is thrown upon the ordinary interpretation of it.

(iii.) *The sacramental section.* When we look more closely at the part of the discourse which immediately precedes

the note about Capernaum in verse 59, another curious fact becomes apparent. It is only in verses 51*b*–56 that Jesus' general teaching about the Bread of Life acquires a special reference to the eating and drinking of the Body and Blood of Christ. The characteristic language of verses 48–51*a* about eating (*φάγειν*) the loaf (*ἄρτος*) recurs in verse 58. In verses 51*b*–56 it gives place to the idea of munching or masticating (*τρώγειν*) the flesh (*σάρξ*) and drinking the blood—language which has no parallel elsewhere in the Gospel.[1] This isolation of the passage would not in itself justify us in suspecting it; but there are further difficulties. In the sequel, far from there being any recognition of this climax of the teaching about the Bread of Life, its central word *σάρξ* is picked out for depreciation—"the flesh profiteth nothing: it is the spirit that quickeneth" (verse 63). Nor does this only depreciate *σάρξ*: it also uses the word in a totally different sense from that employed in verses 51*b*–56. Is it likely that John would do either of these things within a few verses of that passage? Again, it is a general rule of the Fourth Gospel that Jesus' interlocutors misunderstood His teaching, and raise objections based upon a materialistic version of something which He means in a spiritual sense—as for instance Nicodemus, who objects to the teaching about regeneration that an old man cannot be born again, or the woman of Samaria, who does not understand how Jesus can supply the Water of Life without a pitcher. But in the present case, if verses 51*b* and 53–56 stand, the Jews' objection in verse 52 is not a misunderstanding at all. Jesus *has* offered them His *σάρξ* to eat: and He goes on to reiterate His teaching in thoroughly materialistic terms. If, on the other hand, we could treat the use of *σάρξ* in these verses as a Jewish materialisation of Jesus' teaching about the spiritual consumption of the

[1] *ὁ τρώγων μου τὸν ἄρτον* occurs in a non-sacramental sense in xiii. 18.

Bread of Life, the whole passage would gain in effectiveness, and there would be real point in the depreciation of σάρξ in verse 63. Once more, the "hard saying" which offends the disciples immediately before verse 60 seems to be not the sacramental language of verses 51*b*–56, but the teaching of verses 51*a* and 58 about "the bread which came down out of heaven"—as is apparent from its comparison with the "ascending" of the Son of Man "where he was before" in verse 62. The inference is that the sacramental section was not originally the climax that it now seems to be, and that it owes this emphasis not to the author but to an editor of the Gospel.

(iv.) *The climax of the discourse.* There remains this difficulty—that the ordinary interpretation makes the sacramental section (vers. 51–58) the climax of the discourse, and the two final paragraphs (vers. 60–65 and vers. 66–71) become an appendix, or at least an anti-climax. Yet, if the discourse has any real unity, these final paragraphs should contain the clue to all that has gone before—which they cannot do, according to the ordinary way of interpreting them. What, after all, do they contain? There is first the claim that Jesus' sayings are spirit and life (verse 63), that He has "the words of eternal life" (ver. 68). There is secondly the confession that Jesus Himself is "the Holy One of God" (ver. 69). The latter may fairly be taken as a sign that John is drawing upon a narrative source in which the object of faith was the Messiahship of Jesus. The former strongly suggests that the whole chapter is a study in the necessity of understanding and believing Christ's spiritual teaching. Does it not follow that the eating of the Bread of Life, although not without reference to the Christian Sacrament, is yet primarily a metaphor for the soul's assimilation of the character and

teaching of Christ? The Bread in this chapter is no less and no more metaphorical than the Water of chapter iv. Both embody the same fundamental principle of John's teaching.

If it be granted that these difficulties throw considerable doubt on the ordinary way of taking the chapter, can we formulate a better interpretation?

1. In the first place, we may accept, at least as a working hypothesis, the idea that the discourse was originally independent of the narratives of the miracle of Feeding, and of the Walking on the Lake, with which it is now joined. (The transition from the narratives to the discourse is masked by the paragraph verses 22–29; and though we can point to the lack of continuity between verses 27 and 28, and the incongruity of verse 30, as signs of the editor's work, we cannot exactly reconstruct John's source.) This hypothesis enables us to consider the discourse on its own merits, and to give full weight to the contrast between Moses and Christ, between the heavenly food of the Old Covenant and the living Bread of the New, which is obscured by the introduction of the Feeding of the Five Thousand. At the same time this hypothesis may be accepted or rejected without vitally affecting what follows. The discourse carries its own interpretation.

2. The *motif* of the discourse is given out in verse 27—"Work not for the meat which perisheth, but for the meat which abideth unto eternal life, which the Son of Man shall give unto you: for him the Father, even God, hath sealed." Apart from the Johannine phrase, "the Father," this λόγιον, with its Messianic and apocalyptic outlook, would not be out of place in the Sermon on the Mount (cp. Matt. vi. 19, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth," etc.), and may very well have formed the conclusion of the narrative of Feeding in John's source. But the way in

which John develops the saying is very characteristic. He fastens on the element of belief—"This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent" (ver. 29); and everything that follows, including the metaphor of eating the Bread of Life, is an elaboration of this theme, till the discourse ends with a recurrence of the original belief-motif—"the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit, and are life. But there are some of you that believe not" (vers. 63–4), "and we have believed and known that thou art the Holy One of God" (ver. 69). Whatever ulterior reference the discourse may have to the great Christian sacrament, either in virtue of what is said here, or of what is left unsaid in John's account of the Last Supper, its ruling idea throughout is faith in Jesus as the Messiah sent from God, and in His teaching as "the words of eternal life." This is the element which gives unity to the discourse. Anything else that it may contain is a variation on this theme.

3. The first variation is the contrast between Moses and Christ. Whatever the historical setting of the request for a sign which John retains in verse 30 (the only certainty is its inappropriateness where it now stands), its purpose is to introduce Moses' miracle of the manna, and to contrast that kind of food, miraculous but material, with the spiritual food which God gives, by no breach of natural law, but by the supernatural origin and mission of the Son of Joseph, in whom faith finds the Bread of God that comes down from heaven.

This conception, again, determines the meaning of all that is said in the following verses about the eating of the flesh of the Son of Man, and (if this be a true part of the discourse) the drinking of His blood. The Jews, as always in the Fourth Gospel, materialise Christ's metaphor, and ask for an inexhaustible supply of loaves of such unusual

quality (ver. 34). Jesus in His reply (vers. 35–40) makes it quite clear that it is by coming to Him that hunger is satisfied, and by believing in Him that thirst is quenched. The life which the Bread of God sustains is the life of the soul, the life of the world to come.

4. The second variation on the theme of faith is put in the form of another objection by the Jews: how can "the Son of Joseph," one "whose father and mother we know," speak of Himself as "coming down from heaven" (vers. 41–42)? Jesus' answer is clear enough. It is by no human evidences, no miraculous birth compelling mental assent, that men are brought to believe in Christ's divinity, but by such spiritual motives as God puts into their hearts (ver. 44). It is by "hearing from the Father, and learning" that men discover the divine value of Jesus' humanity (ver. 45). In this matter the Church, by a singular misunderstanding, has rejected the teaching of the Evangelist, and agreed with the heresy of the Jews. By teaching the doctrine of the divinity of Christ in such a way as to exclude His human parentage it has completed the superficial logic of the Fourth Gospel at the price of denying the root principle of its philosophy. It has accepted the enhanced supernaturalism of the Logos, whilst rejecting the naturalism of the flesh through which alone the Logos is revealed.

5. The sacramental section which follows is another variation upon the theme of the mystical consumption of the Bread of Life. It is difficult not to think that it contains a reference to the Christian Sacrament, and that, by putting it in the present context, the Evangelist wishes (for reasons which we need not discuss here) to turn Eucharistic thought away from the Last Supper towards the Galilean miracle of Feeding. But we have already mentioned grounds for thinking that this sacramental reference of the section

may have been elaborated by a later editor of the Gospel, who in verses 51*b*–56 put the use of the words σάρξ and αἷμα into Jesus' mouth. Such an editor, if he distrusted a purely spiritual doctrine of the sacrament, may have argued thus: "The Jews' objection, 'How can this man give us his flesh to eat?' was no doubt a misunderstanding. Still, Jesus does in a sense give us His σάρξ to eat when He gives us His σῶμα in the sacrament.[1] They were not so far wrong after all. Like Caiaphas (xi. 51), they spoke more significantly than they knew." And from this it would be a short step to the inference that Jesus *had* used the words which are attributed to Him in verses 51*b*–56. However this may be, the mystical sacramentalism of verse 57 (ὁ τρώγων με, κἀκεῖνος ζήσεται δι' ἐμέ) has been changed into the ecclesiastical sacramentalism of verse 54 (ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα, καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα, ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον); just as, in the conversation with Nicodemus (iii. 3–5), ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν (mystical rebirth) is changed into ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος (baptismal regeneration).

This interpretation is corroborated by verses 62–3. The point of verse 62 is to draw a comparison between two similar mysteries, "the Son of Man ascending where he was before," and some truth which has just been revealed (cp. iii. 12). What truth? Clearly not the eating of the flesh and the drinking of the blood, but the coming down of the Bread of Life from heaven (verses 50–51*a*, and 58), of which the Ascension is the fitting complement. That is to say, the special doctrine of verses 51*b*–56 is ignored in verse 62: and it was not that, but the general doctrine about the Bread of Life, which the Jews

[1] It is worth noticing that an insertion from D in vers. 56–57, which Loisy (for one) accepts, includes the use of the word σῶμα. This may be evidence as to the original form of the passage, σῶμα being the proper sacramental term.

thought "a hard saying" (ver. 60). Again, the use of σάρξ in verse 63, which (as we have seen) is very difficult after verse 51*b*, 53–56 (Jesus' use of the term), becomes full of point when taken in connection with verse 52; for it rebukes the Jews' substitution of the profitless "flesh" for the life-giving "spirit"—that is, the Church's preference for the lower rather than the higher sacramentalism.

Although this interpretation of the sacramental section seems the most forcible, there is another which preserves the unity of the discourse without committing the Evangelist to the "lower" sacramentalism of verses 51*b*–56. "Flesh and blood" may be taken as meaning the human nature of Jesus, by which He gives life to the world. His word believed, His character imitated, are the eating of the Bread of Life. John purposely avoids sacramental words like σῶμα; his meaning is more general and mystical. The Jews misunderstand Christ's words, taking σάρξ in a material sense. Jesus replies, not by answering their difficulty, but by repeating His language, and making the metaphorical use of σάρξ plainer by adding a metaphorical use of αἷμα, and by underlining the idea of mystical indwelling. He alludes to the sacrament, but in a disparaging way. The "real food" and "real drink" (ver. 55) are opposed not so much to the material bread and fish of the miracle of Feeding (if indeed there be any connection with that incident), as to the kind of eating and drinking that the Jews have in mind, which is also the kind of eating and drinking believed in by the superstitious sacramentalists for whom they stand. The protest in verse 63 thus comes in fitly enough. The fleshly interpretation of Jesus' teaching profits nothing: what is needed is spiritual interpretation. This way of taking the passage does not, however, solve the difficulty of verse 63, where σάρξ is no longer coupled with αἷμα, but contrasted with πνεῦμα, and bears quite a

new meaning. We can only suppose that the clumsiness of this use, so soon after verses 51*b*, 53–56, may be due to the poverty of John's language.

On the whole, then, the more radical interpretation of this section first given is to be preferred.

6. The climax of the chapter (verses 60–71) is, as we have suggested, hardly intelligible, unless it can be regarded as a recapitulation of the main theme of the discourse—that acceptance of Jesus as the Holy One of God, and of His teaching as the words of eternal life, which is throughout described under the metaphor of eating the Bread of Life. We need not deny the sacramental reference of the discourse. It is not a misunderstanding to find such teaching in the chapter. But it is a side-issue, a variation on the essential theme. And that is just the lesson which John wishes to convey, and which he emphasises by suppressing the account of the Institution of the Eucharist, just as he emphasises his protest against a superstitious use of baptism by omitting Jesus' baptism in chapter i., and by insisting that "Jesus Himself baptized not" in iv. 2. The theme of his whole Gospel is the choice between belief and unbelief, the acceptance or the rejection of "him whom God hath sent into the world." Nor is it an accident that God's emissary is the Word: for it is by His sayings that Jesus bears witness in this Gospel, rather than by His character or His deeds; and John never swerves from his central conviction that as Christ came into the world to report God's opinions, and to save those who were able to accept them, so the supreme task of Christianity is to look at life from Jesus' point of view, to assimilate the spirit of His teaching, and to form in mystical union with Him a brotherhood whose aim is the spiritual regeneration of mankind.

Thus the teaching of the discourse as a whole, distinguished (as we believe it should be) both from the narrative

which precedes it and from the sacramental development which emerges from it, is at once consistent and characteristic. It falls into four parts, though these, in John's manner, are not clearly distinguished from one another. (i.) Jesus contrasts material food with spiritual, Moses' manna with the Bread of Life (verses 27–34). (ii.) He Himself is the Bread which comes down from heaven (verses 35, 48–51*a*). (iii.) He becomes, for all who believe in Him, the food of eternal life (verses 29, 35–40, 44–47, 57–58). (iv.) The supreme means of His self-revelation, and of men's acceptance of His claims, is His teaching; and it is this which is metaphorically signified throughout by "food" (vers. 63–69). The first of these propositions expresses, under the simplest possible metaphor, the general principle of the supreme reality of spiritual life. The second makes the Christian claim for Jesus, that His life is the perfect embodiment of this principle. The third describes the nature and results of Christian discipleship. The fourth defines the means by which Christ presents His claims, and men accept them.

The teaching as a whole is closely analogous to that of the conversations with Nicodemus, and with the woman of Samaria, and develops some of Jesus' most characteristic Synoptic sayings as we should expect them to be developed when translated from Jewish into Greek terms of thought, and from historical record into reflection and meditation.

J. M. Thompson.

THE SEMITIC ELEMENT IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

(i). In approaching the fourth gospel we are met by various stumblingblocks. Unfortunately, the conservative commentators tend to make light of them. At the same time, there is more to be said for the traditional ascription of the gospel to the circle of St. John, than it is at present fashionable to admit, and the facts at our disposal now incline towards an earlier date than hitherto seemed possible.

The influences at work in this direction have been increased from two sources. One consists in the stream of Semitic speculation so far as it has been handed down and enriched, beginning with the impressive Babylonian texts of at least three thousand years ago, and coming by way of Jewish thought—not always biblical—to the Cabbala and Spinoza. In this long series the fourth gospel now appears to me the most important and most characteristic production.

In the second place, the grammatical method which, as we have seen, fails to do justice to the style of the Synoptic writers, is less adequate still when we come to St. John, and requires to be modified.

(ii.) We have drawn a fundamental distinction between the style of the second gospel and the style of the third.[1] We shall find a more thoroughgoing difference between the style of the third gospel and that of the fourth. But we shall not begin with the minute analysis which led us to our conclusions about Mark and Luke. We shall confidently start under the guidance of the authors themselves. It was Luke's object [2] to establish the terms in which *instruction* had been given; it was the object of the author of the fourth gospel to arouse a *belief*,[3] Luke declares him-

[1] Expositor, April, 1915, 337.
[2] Luke i. 4.
[3] John xx. 31.

self to be animated with the spirit of an historian: his companion evangelist announces himself as a preacher.

We may indicate the differences between the Synoptic writers and 'John' in a quite definite form. On the one hand, there are the three gospels which in the main approach the contemporary tradition of Greek and Roman popular biography.[1] On the other hand, the fourth gospel is to be regarded as in the line of Pharisaic production which runs from the book of Daniel, through the wisdom literature of the apocrypha, to the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

The criticism which has established the claim of Mark to be original and Matthew and Luke to be in some sense derivative, has further consequences which are important for us now. Mark displays certain minor inaccuracies which agree with the tradition that the gospel was written amid a Gentile community. These inaccuracies are partly corrected by Matthew and Luke, and more completely by John. We have thus the strange situation; the oldest gospel is the least Jewish of the four. Luke is the nearest to it. Matthew is obviously tinged with Jewish ideas to a larger extent than Luke. John is the most Jewish of all, both in content and in treatment. I am aware that in making this statement, I may seem to refuse a just share to Greek influences. But this change of emphasis is involved in the recognition of the racial element in the thought of Jesus. Obviously, in the light of this recognition, the problem of the fourth gospel will require restatement. Schmiedel quotes isolated texts from the old Testament without putting them into their setting.[2]

(iii.) The substance of the fourth gospel is perhaps furnished by two fundamental sayings.[3] "I came forth from

[1] The classical writers are, by definition, not representative of the popular style of writing.

[2] E. Bi. 2534.

[3] John xvi. 28, xv. 12.

the Father and am come into the world: again I leave the world and go to the Father." This saying is represented as a climax: "Behold, now thou speakest openly." The other saying, which appears to me of very great importance for the trend of the whole gospel, is: "This is my commandment, to love one another as I have loved you." It is the practice of 'John' to underline his main topics. In this latter case the underlining is to be found in the epistle.[1]

I have selected these two sayings to serve as a clue to our further inquiries. Their importance will become clearer as we proceed. For they furnish us with two traits in the prophetic career of Jesus which will enable us to enter more fully into the Jewish character of the composition. And therefore we shall briefly consider them from this point of view.

The term "apostle" is applied to the relation between Jesus and His followers: it is also applied in a verbal form to denote the relation between Jesus and the Father (John xvii. 18). Hence there is probably an allusion to this in the interpretation of Siloam ἀπεσταλμένος (John ix. 7). We do an injustice, therefore, to the fourth gospel if we treat it as merely expressing the static relations between Jesus and God. The dynamic, or, as we have learned to call it, the active statement, "God sent His Son" (John iii. 17), ἀπέστειλεν, is more important for the whole purpose of the book than the identification of Jesus with the Word.

The revelation of the divine nature as love finds expression in like manner through the love of Jesus towards the disciples. We are not concerned, therefore, with the formal attributes of God, but with His essence as manifested through action: "God loved the world" (John iii. 16). In the definitions of the creed ascribed to Athanasius, love never

[1] 1 John iii. 23.

occurs as an attribute of God. The source of this omission lies in the stress which has been improperly laid upon the Greek implications of the "word," λόγος. With this point we shall shortly deal.

A careful consideration of the consequences which follow from our two fundamental sentences will convince many people that the Gospel and the First Epistle are by the the same hand. A single utterance from the latter combines the two evangelic ideas. "Every one who loves, has been born of God and knows God" (1 John iv. 8). In these few words the writer of the epistle declares the theme which he develops from so many points of view. For he is writing to persons who are already familiar with the gospel.

(iv.) The development of the Greek, rather than the biblical and Semitic, implications of the fourth gospel was probably one of the causes of the rise of Islam. While a reasoned judgment will refuse to Mohammed the dignity of the light of the whole world, which is rightly and inevitably claimed by Jesus, the same judgment will leave us ready to accord to the Arab prophet an insight into the things of the spirit which is not without importance for our present investigation. Although the life of Mohammed was not maintained throughout at the high spiritual level at which it began, we can trace in its earlier stages at least a strong sympathy and analogy with the laws of the spiritual life which are set forth in the fourth gospel. And we may explain this analogy partly by the influence of the fourth gospel upon the mind of Mohammed,[1] partly by the genuine and original character of his own spiritual experience. Mohammed set himself up to be the successor and supplanter of Jesus by seizing just those two elements which we have seen to be specially prominent in the fourth gospel.

[1] Koran c. 3.

Islam is based upon the claim of the prophet to be sent of God, and its daily prayer declares that mercy and compassion are His two leading attributes. The student of the fourth gospel will not remain unmoved by this testimony which the gospel seems to receive from the greatest prophet of the southern Semites.

(iv.) Jesus, however, was more than a prophet. He not only spoke with the authority of a prophet. He appealed to the reason of His hearers. This aspect of His work is concealed by the rendering of the quite definite term διδάσκαλος as "master" rather than "teacher." One of the most mysterious traits in the picture of Jesus is that He leaves judgment to the course of events. The teacher may therefore be indifferent to consequences, provided that he delivers his message. "If any one hears my words and does not believe, I do not judge him. He that rejects me and does not receive my words, has one that judges him; the word which I spoke shall judge him at the last day." [1] The picture of Jesus teaching in the temple in the cool and quiet of the dawn belongs to quite another order of events than the Arab sheikh who combined with the office of the prophet, not the teacher but, the warrior and statesman.

(v.) As we pass from Mark to Luke and Matthew and John we traverse a path we have already taken with reference to style. But this time we are passing from the history to the manual of instruction; from the narrative of a western mind to the reflections of an oriental; from the record of an onlooker to the interpretation directed from within towards the use of a newcomer to the faith. In Matthew we are already in an eastern setting. The eye is at once caught by the parallel between the new law and the old Mosaic law. The magisterial announcement of the beatitudes is followed by the authoritative interpretation of

[1] John xii. 48.

the decalogue. But the method of Jesus was not merely authoritative; He used persuasion as well. To an eastern reader the parable as we find it in Luke and Matthew is not less the form of argument than is the syllogism or the induction with us. But there is a difference in the form of the argument which corresponds to a profound difference in the attitude of the western teacher of the type to which we are most accustomed, and the attitude of the eastern rabbi. The western teacher is concerned with the means to the apprehension of the truth; the western philosopher traces the mode by which we apprehend the object, as though the mode of apprehension could be separated from the object. The oriental regarded the spoken or written expression of the truth as in some way identical with the truth itself. It was more than a figure of speech when the Jewish boy was told that the law was the truth (Ps. cxix. 142). "Ye search the scriptures," said Jesus, "for in them ye think ye have eternal life . . . and ye will not come to me that ye might have life." In these words the writer of the fourth gospel sets in the highest possible light the claim of Jesus as the living embodiment of law, to supersede the written Law. When we read the closing words of the first draught of the gospel (xx. 31), it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the writer claimed to present such a picture of Jesus as should take precedence of the scriptures in which the law and therefore life was enshrined. In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs we read of "the light of the law which was given to light every man." This is probably the key to sayings like the corresponding passage in the prologue (i. 9), and especially, "I am the light of the world" (viii. 12).

(vi.) We thus gain a clue of considerable importance to the temperament of the author of the fourth gospel. He, like Jesus, claims to speak with authority. One who speaks

with authority does not need to give reasons for his utterance. We are therefore led to correct a traditional translation of the epistle.[1] It is to be noticed that the alteration which is about to be suggested does not imply an alteration in the facts referred to, but a *declaration* by the writer of those same facts.

> Beloved, I do not write a new commandment to you, but an old commandment which you had *from the beginning:* the old commandment is the word which you heard.

This I understand to be said of the gospel. Then there is added a new authoritative statement.

> Again I write a new commandment to you—that which is true in Him and in you—that the darkness is passing away and the true light is now shining.

The intervening explanation should not allow us to overlook the close connexion between the eighth verse and verses twelve to fourteen.

> I write to you little children that your sins are forgiven because of His name.

This carries us back to the gospel: "whosesoever sins you forgive, they are forgiven them" (John xx. 23).

> I write to you fathers that ye have known him that is *from the beginning.*

I see here another allusion to the opening words of the gospel.

> I write to you, young men, that you have conquered the evil one.

Nor was this the first epistle of consolation that had been sent.

> I wrote to you, children, that ye have known the father.

[1] 1 John ii. 7 ff.

I wrote to you, fathers, that you have known him that was from the beginning.

I wrote to you, young men, that ye are strong and the word remains in you, and you have conquered the evil one.

When I first considered the substitution of the declarative for the causal sense of ὅτι, I was checked by failing to discover any precedent for so thorough-going an innovation. But this suggestion has already been anticipated by Rothe. The alteration first presented itself to me as a deduction from the grammatical principles which I have been trying to apply. I mention, perhaps unnecessarily, this personal consideration, because in attempting to ascertain the style of a writer, the test of our results consists in our being able to apply them generally. Otherwise we lose ourselves in a jungle of casual notices.

Let us now consider some grammatical reasons why in these passages we should take the conjunction ὅτι in a declaratory sense. The indicative future is used in the decalogue instead of an imperative. In the beatitudes the indicative present is used with more than the emphasis which attaches to a mere statement of fact. Hence the declaratory sense—"I write to you that your sins are forgiven"—comes with a familiar and yet a peculiar emphasis which we have already found in the quotation from the Psalm (cxix. 142). The word is identified with the occurrence of which it is the expression. That this was the belief of the author of the fourth gospel is illustrated, for example, by the narrative of the ruler, where the gospel insists on the confidence of the time of the cure with the time at which Jesus uttered the words: "thy son lives" (John iv. 53).

Here, then, we come across an important distinction

between the various types of the indicative sentence. There is the statement which explains the meaning of a word—the *nominal* sentence. Such were the utterances of the scribes. There is the statement which explains the meaning of a word along with the implied existence of a thing. Such is the *real* sentence ; the description of an event in history, of a circumstance in nature, of a process in the mind. Lastly there is the word of power by which to some extent that which corresponds to the word is brought into being. The effect of the word of command upon other human beings, the effect of rhetoric and of scientific argument afford illustrations of this third type of indicative sentence. Let us call it by the name which is already familiar to us in the commentary on the epistle, the *declaratory* sentence.

The peculiar impressiveness of the style of the fourth gospel, therefore, turns upon the fact that the logical sentence of subject and predicate, which elsewhere is somewhat ineffective,[1] is raised by the emphasis peculiar to the writer, to the declaratory form.

(vii.) If now we proceed to inquire how the declaratory form of the sentence reveals itself, we find ourselves in touch with Jewish thought. And here the writer of the fourth gospel and the epistle, and (if he is not the same) the writer also of Revelation exhibit themselves in their national characteristics.

The form of Jewish thought is largely derived from the procedure of the court of law. This derivation is shared, apparently, by many other peoples. It will be enough for our present purpose if we trace the usage of the words meaning " to answer." In spite of Liddell and Scott s.v. *ἀποκρίνομαι* means first " to reply to an accusation " and only in the second place " to reply to a question." The Latin *spondeo* means to make a solemn promise in a court of law.

[1] Expositor, April 1915, p. 342. Luke viii. 11.

Hence *respondeo* means to make a counter statement in a court of law. The same derivation of meaning appears also in Aramaic. *Anah* means first "to pronounce solemnly," especially in a court of law, and then "to reply." Hence the idiomatic phrase, "answered and said," whether in its Hebrew Aramaic or Greek dress, is a perpetual reminder of the intensive character of the statement which follows. It is noteworthy that this idiom is practically confined to the first five books of the New Testament, and is the most important Hebraism to be found there if we measure by those canons of logic which especially apply to Semitic thought.

But the fourth gospel is strikingly distinguished from the Synoptics by the use of the verb μαρτυρέω in order to denote an emphatic statement. John thus goes even beyond the reference to legal assertions involved in the use of ἀποκρίνομαι. If we take this fact along with the authoritative declarations from the epistle (1 John ii. 7 ff.), we shall be tempted to see in him a Jewish rabbi who continues, in another universe of experience, the turns of expression and of thought that were traditional in the study of the Jewish law. The authority with which he speaks in the gospel and epistle agrees with his title: 'a son of thunder,' and lessens the interval which some have measured between the tone of these writings and the tone of the Apocalypse. I leave on one side the question how far the apostolic tradition, in the form in which we have it, suffered editing.

But there is another and still more subtle legal trait. It is characteristic both of the gospel and the epistle that statements are made both affirmatively and by the denial of the contradictory. "God is light and in Him is no darkness at all." This is not to be regarded from our western standpoint as though we had two merely *logical* sentences. The two sentences are *declaratory*. They are the affirmation

of a witness, and his denial of what is said by a counter witness.

We can now profitably inquire what, according to these Jewish canons, is truth, and how is it ascertained. In the gospel the opposite of truth, mere appearance, is contrasted with what is just. "Judge not according to appearance but give the just judgment" (John vii. 24). The truth then is what is properly determined by process of law.[1] And as we have seen that is by witnesses. "Take with you one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be made to stand" (Matt. xviii. 16). Truth, then, is established by reference to persons. It is declared by testimony and not by impersonal fact. And when it is ascertained in this way, it is commended to general acceptance by a declaration from a judge or other authoritative person. It is obvious, therefore, that the right of private judgment and the methods of Greek and modern logic must be employed with great care if we are to enter into the oriental attitude towards the truth.

We can obtain further assistance if we consider the important saying: "I am the way, the truth, and the life." The way of truth is opposed to the way of error, and to this extent there is an approximation to the western use of the word "truth." But the difference is well illustrated by the contrast between truth and hypocrisy, as though the liar were distinguished not so much by particular false statements as by his insincerity of temperament. It must be remembered that the only form of false statement which is condemned in the Jewish law, is false witness borne against a neighbour. The hypocrisy of the Pharisees did not consist in making false statements. In the parable of the

[1] In Ethiopic, sedek denotes both justice and truth. There is a similar approximation of meaning in other Semitic languages.

Pharisee and the Publican, the Pharisee is not represented as lying, but as loudly declaring nominal truths.

We must correct the isolated use of the word truth therefore. Just as for a western it makes for clearness of thought, if sometimes for " truth " we substitute the phrase " true propositions," so for the oriental it makes for clearness if to the word " truth " we add the word " way " in the sense of " a mode of life." Hence the saying of Jesus admirably guards against misapprehension. Truth is the way of life which is opposed to the way of death.

(ix.) We can now perhaps discuss more profitably in what sense the narrative of the raising of Lazarus is true. True, in the oriental sense, it certainly was. But we may be quite sure that the persons through whose hands the gospel passed would not be guided by the considerations which govern a modern historian, in constructing the narrative. It is one of the canons of modern historical investigation that references to ethics or to the philosophy of history, should be left out of account. In other words, the modern scientific historian, who limits himself to mechanical causation, is at the opposite extreme to the writer of the gospel. For the latter all his facts appear bathed in the light of a personality and controlled by the will of God. But this attitude does not preclude him from contributing some important and verifiable traits to the history in which he co-operates with the synoptic writers. The German school of historians, taking up the purely economic and diplomatic treatment of history, have done quite as much to darken the truth in the western sense as the most obscurantist church historian who ever lived. As between these two extremes, the fourth gospel comes towards the middle. And when we allow for the conditions under which the historian wrote, we can retain all we have learned in the way of scientific fact, and complete the

deficiencies which lie outside the province of positive method, by a comprehensive view of that way of life which is described by John. We can now bring our converging investigations to a focus, and trace the system of thought which is here more than a mere philosophy.

(x.) A word of protest is first needed. It is too generally assumed that the Jewish nation at the Christian era was not gifted with the philosophic impulse. If by that is meant the formal tendency of Greek thought which, as we have seen, expressed itself in abstract language,[1] then it is true that Jewish reflection did not run in Greek moulds. But we have shaken ourselves free of the shackles of Greek grammar, and can approach the subject of Jewish thought "from the beginning."

We have heard much lately of eschatology, the reference of things to their result as purposed by God; but eschatology requires to be balanced by the reference of things to their beginning, by "archæology." The "priestly" author of the Hexateuch was probably not drawing upon his own fund of ideas alone in the description of the act of creation; we may therefore think of a circle of Jewish thinkers among whom were current the sublime conceptions of Genesis i.–ii. 1. It is not possible to ascertain definitely the circumstances under which in Babylon the religion of Israel thus gained a more spiritual expression. It is enough for us taking this starting point to note how naturally succeeding Jewish reflection occupied itself with commentaries upon Genesis. The Book of Jubilees, Enoch, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs thus exhibit themselves as in a harmonious succession, and leading directly to the fourth gospel.

Now the figure of Jesus strikes across the road that leads us to the fourth gospel from the priestly writer of the

[1] Expositor, April, 1915, p. 340.

beginnings. And I cannot help being convinced that for Jesus also the prologue of Genesis had a haunting meaning. And before we turn to John's record I shall take leave to trace in the synoptic writers some important correspondences. I believe that we may trust the tradition of all four gospels when it declares that Jesus Himself taught a special doctrine of the Spirit. Why, in the case of this greatest of masters, should we be content with the disconnected sayings and anecdotes with which we are too often fobbed off?

(xi.) Jesus was especially conscious of the presence of the Spirit at His baptism. The varying accounts of the manner in which the Spirit presented itself are almost certainly, as far as their form goes, to be referred to the "brooding" of the Spirit in Genesis i. 2. The reference to the hen gathering her brood under her wings follows out the same idea (Matt. xxiii. 37); only that Jesus in this latter passage, actually identifies Himself with the work of the Spirit. These allusions prepare us for the method of the fourth gospel. The prologue is to be regarded as a commentary upon Genesis i. and especially upon what is said there about the Spirit of God.

There is a double line of evidence which connects the "Johannine" writings, with the prologue of Genesis. The same vocabulary, *πνεῦμα*, *φῶς*, *σκότος*, *ζωή*, *σπέρμα*, *κόσμος* is found alike in Genesis i.–ii. 1, the gospel and the epistle. In particular the phrase *ἀρχή* occurs with the same sense in the opening utterances of the three writings. There is nothing far-fetched, therefore, in supposing that the gospel and the epistle repeat in this part of their phraseology some of the favourite turns of speech of the master.

(xii.) There are three elements in the doctrine of the Spirit, which the gospel sets forth in every variety of expression; first, that the Spirit fills the whole conscious being

in such a way that the individual seems to be lost only indeed to find himself more completely: second, that the coming of the Spirit is not through any effort of our own but by the gift of God: third, that the coming of the Spirit is clearly purposed. Now these three principles are so far at variance with many specious ideas about the spiritual life that the current translation of the gospel, and to some extent the text of the leading passages, has been so modified as to suggest meanings almost the opposite of that which a careful study of the text discloses. If as a reward for our inquiry, we are enabled to enter more fully into these leading ideas of the gospel our examination of the style of the fourth gospel will not have been in vain.

(xiii.) Let us begin with John iii. 8. "The spirit breathes where it wills, and you hear its voice. But you do not know whence it comes and where it goes. So is every one that is born of the spirit." We are justified, I think, in referring the phrase "whence it comes and whither it goes" to the passage of Jesus through this world. In this respect He furnishes the pre-eminent example of a career which is shared by every one that is "sent." There is less need to labour this point because the revisers have corrected the mistranslation in the margin. It is probable that the authorised version was affected by Calvin's commentary: "spiritus quo vult spirat: non quod proprie voluntas sit in flatu, sed quia libera sit agitatio, et vaga et varia." But this description of the wind is itself discordant with the thought of Jesus, who taught most clearly the reign of law in the natural world. For example, "not a sparrow falls to the ground without your father," and "the very hairs of your head are numbered." And Calvin himself surrenders the whole point at issue by the remark that there is movement and action of the Spirit (which is supposed to be illustrated by the wind), but that it is hidden.

(xiv). It is noteworthy that this whole passage exhibits a large number of interpolations. The quotations of Cyprian are probably nearer the original than Old Latin texts, such as *a*.[1] And the Syr. sin. is perhaps nearer than either. Now according to the latter Jesus said: "Marvel not that I told you to be born." The omission of ἄνωθεν improves the flow of the passage (John iii. 7). It is supported by the reply of Nicodemus: "How can a man be born being old?" I do not find any Greek authority for the reading "born again" in this place. But the Old Latin *a* has *renasci* against all the Greek: "quomodo potest homo renasci?" It is possible therefore that the Syr. sin. preserves the true reading, and that Jesus said: "Ye must be born." In verse 3, the Syrian translates "unless a man be born *from the beginning*," but of course the addition makes no difference to the meaning. The Syrian readings repeat the reference to spiritual birth which is found in John i. 12: "he gave them power to become children of God." Further, Nicodemus' visit illustrates the "calling" of the sons of God," for we must press the meaning of the verb "thou hearest." As a matter of fact, Nicodemus in the gospel is represented as hearing the voice of the Spirit. Dr. Abbott[2] finds a difficulty in the circumstance that Nicodemus hung back from openly identifying himself with the cause of Jesus. But he merely exhibits and in a less conspicuous form the general desertion of Jesus by His followers. Let us now take the "hearing" of Nicodemus in closer connexion with the "calling." When the epistle says: "behold, how great love the Father has given us, that we should be called the sons of God and we are," the calling is not merely a matter of naming, it is a declaration which carries with it the reality of the thing declared. Hence, according

[1] The Book of Kells has a text resembling *a*.
[2] E. Bi. s.v. Nicodemus.

to the gospel and the epistle the phrase of Jesus, "I told you to be born," is self-explanatory.

It was probably a misunderstanding of this characteristic of Hebrew thought by which the true reading of Luke iii. 22, "Thou art my beloved son; this day I have begotten thee," was replaced by the received text. The emphasis should be laid upon the first part of the verse. "Thou art my Son" is a declaration which carries with it the fact which is declared. Hence what follows, whether it be the earlier or the later reading, is to be regarded as a commentary, not as constituting the meaning of the whole utterance.

With these explanations we may proceed to quote from the Old Latin version *a* the whole of the passage John iii. 5–8, marking the interpolations.[1] (5) "Jesus answered: verily verily I say to you, unless a man be born *again* of water and of the *Holy* Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.[2] (6) What is born of the flesh, is flesh *because it is born of the flesh*. And what is born of the spirit, is spirit, *because God is a spirit and it is born of God*.[3] (7) Do not wonder because I told you *it is necessary for you* to be born *again*.[4] (8) The spirit breathes where it wills: and you hear his voice but you do not know whence he comes and where he goes: so is every one who is born *again of water and* of the spirit."[5] Such insertions are instructive because they show the tendencies at an early date, which were operative upon the text of the gospel. We may mark off three several directions. In the first place, the mere fact of a second birth overshadows the kind of the second birth. In the next place, the spirit is treated rather as an agent external to the soul than as the subject of the fellowship of which Paul speaks. In the third place, increasing emphasis is laid upon the use of water in purification.

[1] Subjoined are authorities for omissions in the successive verses.
[2] Cyprian. [3] ℵB. [4] Syr. sin. [5] Vulg.

(xv.) It is a perverse fate which has thus caused the intention of the writer of the fourth gospel to be thwarted. Yet the scribes who overlaid with their additions the original work were faithful in this sense; they retained what they found before them to begin with. They certainly were in danger of the curses invoked upon those who added to the words of scripture; but, on the other hand, they do not seem to have omitted what was in their examplars. And, as we have seen, they afford the means to removing some at least, of the additional matter which has crept from the margin into the text.

Perhaps the most unfortunate of all the additions to the text of the fourth gospel is in a later verse of the same chapter. Verse 34 should run: "The spirit does not give by measure." [1] The way in which the shorter reading which is vouched for by the greater manuscript authorities has suffered additions, is especially instructive. In this case, as so often, the western manuscripts are mainly on the side of the longer form; "the Father," or "God," or "God the Father—does not give the spirit by measure." Here a marginal note is obviously taken up into the text. But the simple majesty of the earliest text gives us one of the most important statements of the gospel. It gives us a universal law of the spirit's action which is at the same time a statement of scientific interest in the narrower sense. This sense we will now attempt to elucidate.

(xvi.) We have seen that the fourth gospel is nearer than the Synoptics to the tradition of Jewish reflection; and, in particular, that the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs may be regarded as disclosing to us some of the favourite currents of thought of Jesus and His circle. It perhaps surprised those who loved to dwell upon the naïveté of our Lord's outlook upon life to find that He had taken

[1] This translation is supported by Godet.

account of the reign of law.[1] There are quoted above two sayings in the Sermon on the Mount that point us to this somewhat unexpected conclusion. "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing: and one of them shall not fall on to the ground without your father? But of you even the hairs of the head are all numbered." This latter saying may be compared with a passage from the Testament of Naphtali: "and there does not fail the third of a hair from any man; for by weight and measure and rule all the creation took place" (ii. 3). But the Jewish conception of the reign of law is more profound than the mechanical definition of law. "There is no form nor thought which the Lord did not know: for he made every man in his own image" (ii. 5). In other words, things exist by their being represented in the mind of God. Thus the thought which, in some of its applications, Spinoza developed into a system of philosophy was already implicit in the Pharisaic speculations of the Hellenistic age and was taken over by Jesus Himself. Although the order of the visible world was thus under the divine supervision, it was not therefore eternal. We have already followed this thought out under the guidance of Paul.[2] We shall also gain some light from a quite other quarter. Hence the spirit must move according to other principles than those of "weight and measure and rule." From the standpoint of logical consistency and from the principles of "weight and measure and rule" there follows, of necessity, the absence of scruple which has been most clearly defined by the German school of historians. If we are to understand the meaning of the figure of Jesus in the course of the world, we must contrast Him not only with the German school of historical method, but with the whole modern school of history, English in-

[1] Supra.
[2] Expositor, October, 1915, p. 329.

cluded. By their insistence upon geographical, economical and mechanical factors to the exclusion of spiritual standards of value, historians have really performed a spiritual service. They have shown that mechanical laws are inadequate to interpret the meaning of the world, and that there is a sphere of non-mechanical spiritual law, a sphere which they have delimited from the outside. Within that sphere Jesus moves as "the Master of those who know"; "the spirit does not give by measure."

Is it possible to adumbrate the movement of the spirit? Jesus Himself, perhaps, gives us the clue in the uncanonical saying: "be ye approved moneychangers." Under this may be grouped the characteristic transformation of values which is announced in the gospel and is embodied in His life, only to be summed up in the cross. Schweitzer's interpretation of Calvary as a protest against the order of the world may be taken in its positive, if only partial, meaning. In that case Nietzsche's demonstration of the futility of the cross has the negative use of a *reductio ad absurdum* of the philosophy of the superman. Just as the historian who works exclusively on the lines of positive methods, carries his conclusions to a further extreme than the historian who is held back by judgments of value, so the thinker who interprets the philosophy of history along the lines thus laid down by recent historians throws further light upon the limitations of their historical method. Hence we may take the saying that "the Spirit does not give by measure," and find in it an explanation why Nietzsche was driven by the "weight and measure and rule" within which he confined himself, to the melancholy conclusions amid which a purely mechanical philosophy culminates.

(xvii.) It follows from what has been advanced that we shall do well to reconsider the traditional interpretation of the prologue of the fourth gospel. "There is also there

another place which is called the middle of the world, where the Lord placed His finger saying: "this is the middle of the world." If, as we have seen, the cross is the middle of spiritual things, the logos is not to be identified with the movement of abstract thought, which is expressed in mathematics and the positive sciences. Rather with Westcott we must derive the use of the term "directly from the Palestinian Memra and not from the Alexandrine Logos." [1] Jesus, therefore, appears in the fourth gospel as a Semitic figure summing up the meaning of the world in a manner for which He was specially fitted by the racial tradition of thought which he inherited. In Him that racial tradition found (*a*) its explanation, (*b*) its culminating expression, (*c*) its justification. Of these three, the second includes the other two at least for our present purpose. The fact that Jesus was a Semite is not always sufficiently regarded by theologians. But modern thinkers for whom heredity has a meaning not less serious than that which it had for the Jews, will trace with interest the anticipations of His appearance which to the Jew presented themselves as prophecies. The intimacy between God and the messengers whom He successively sent suggests a category for which there is no room in a mechanical theory of the world. Least of all is there even a niche in the systems of historical philosophy which, like those of Gobineau and Nietzsche, attempt to introduce a Brahminical caste of supermen, based not upon the spirit but upon race to the exclusion of the spirit. Let us put it in this way: the Semitic race has been transparent to inspiration and this transparency became complete in Jesus.[2] The spirit spoke through Him as its voice most clearly. But He was not simply a vehicle of the divine

[1] Commentary, John i. 1.

[2] The Jews were not mistaken in their philosophy of history when they spoke of themselves as a "chosen people."

meaning. He was that meaning. The mystic often seeks that meaning inwardly, and speaks of the light itself as inward, whereas, in one sense at least, the light is like that of the sun falling upon "every man that cometh into the world": Jesus, therefore, is the *true outwardness* of God. Such I take to be the office of the Word. It requires the psychology of speech to do full justice to this theme.

(xviii.) But we must face a difficulty which besets the interpretation of the word "spirit." The writer of the fourth gospel apparently found a disagreement between the teaching of Jesus about the spirit and those methods of exorcism which fill so large a place in the synoptic gospels and the Acts. And since there is little reference to demons in the earlier Old Testament literature, a tradition which is maintained in the Book of Enoch and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, it is possible that in this respect also the fourth gospel is to be followed, rather than the Synoptics. Nor is it difficult to see how the actions of Jesus Himself may have been misunderstood. The seven devils which are said to have gone out of Mary Magdalene are rather to be interpreted by reference to the seven spirits of error in the Testaments,[1] in which book "spirit" receives a philosophical interpretation. The abstract meaning we trace here is also found in Isaiah; the Babylonian gods are compared to "devils that are not."[2] I find it easier to refer the prominence which the Synoptics give to exorcism by their closer contact with popular ideas, than to suppose that Jesus Himself fell short of the insight displayed in spiritual matters by the writers of the New Testament other than the Synoptics.

(xix.) For the popular notion of possession by evil spirits Jesus, according to the fourth gospel, substituted a subtle

[1] Reuben iii. 3.
[2] Isaiah lxv. 3.

explanation of which the full meaning and beauty has sometimes been overlooked. In the conversation with the woman of Samaria, the evangelist represents Him as saying: "neither *in* this mountain nor *in* Jerusalem shall ye worship the Father . . . the true worshippers shall worship Him *in* spirit and *in* truth." We have thus the notion of place connected with the spirit. But we may not press the metaphor further than perhaps to use the notion of place as analogous to, and yet distinguished from, mere space. Let us take another saying: "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you a place of rest." This notion of the Spirit, or of God, as a place of rest, finds perhaps its most familiar expression in the ninetieth psalm: "Lord, thou hast been our dwelling place." But a more moving description is that of John: "In my Father's house are many caravanserais," many resting-places for the weary traveller. Since the spirit is not to be interpreted in terms of space, but of place which contains space, the divine immanence is thus combined in a consistent manner with the divine transcendence. And the doctrine of the Trinity turns out to be a doctrine of "God who is our Home."

FRANK GRANGER.

"EVERY CREATURE," NOT "ALL CREATION," IN ROMANS VIII. 22.

WHAT is the meaning of πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις in Romans viii. 22? Is it possible that the reading of the Revised Version "the whole creation" is correct? Are we to be deprived of our beautiful picture of a redeemed nature and to accept an even more beautiful promise of a redeemed humanity in its place? The former is the more popular interpretation and is supported by great names in early and later times. It is well stated by Dr. Gifford in the *Speaker's Commentary*, where he says that the Apostle "personifies the world just as the prophets do when they make the floods clap their hands. This is the view of St. Chrysostom. Nature sympathising with man's glorious liberty—the whole creation is to undergo a change, and become the fit scene of the glory of God's children."

There are reasons, however, against accepting this view, weightier, we believe, than the names that uphold it. In the first place, this κτίσις is described as "subjected to vanity, though not willingly" (v. 20). Now St. Paul knew the Apocrypha. He has taken his simile of the potter (Rom. ix. 21) from Wisdom xv. 7. His passage on natural revelation in Romans i. 18 is based upon Wisdom xiii. 1. His description of the Christian armour in Ephesians vi. is a development of Wisdom v. 17–20. His account of the earthly tabernacle in 2 Corinthians v. is very possibly derived from Wisdom ix. 15. And it is most probable that the great passage on idols and idolatry and the wickedness thereby encouraged in Wisdom xiv. influenced the writer of Romans i. We can hardly believe, then, that St. Paul would have laid down a diametrically opposite proposition to that stated in Wisdom xvi. 24 and xix. 6. The former passage runs: "For

thy creation (*κτίσις*) serving thee, the maker (*ὑπηρετοῦσα σοι τῷ ποιήσαντι*), extends itself against the unrighteous for punishment and relaxes itself for the benefit of such as trust in thee. Therefore even then when altered into all fashions it was obedient to thy grace that nourisheth all things (*τῇ παντοτρόφῳ σου δωρεᾷ ὑπηρετεῖ*").

The latter passage reads: "For the whole creation (*ὅλη γὰρ ἡ κτίσις*) in its proper kind was fashioned again anew, being obedient to the peculiar commandments that were given to it (*ὑπηρετοῦσα ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιταγαῖς*)." [1] The *κτίσις* which is represented in Wisdom as obedient to its Maker, obedient to His grace, and obedient to His ordinances cannot be identified with the *κτίσις* that has been subjected to vanity, made the obedient vassal of vanity.

Again, the antithesis in Romans viii. 18 23 is between *πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις* and *αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες*, not between Creation animate or inanimate and humanity. And as St. Paul has distinctly pointed out that all men have not the firstfruits of the Spirit, the contrast must be between those who have that *ἀπαρχή* and those who have it not. (*οἱ δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ὄντες*, viii. 8.)

Moreover, the *κτίσις* is described in terms which cannot by the greatest pressure, be made to apply to creation as apart from man. *Ἀποκαραδοκία* or a straining of neck and attention, freedom of will, and a groaning and travailing in sympathy with one another, are hardly to be found in the created environment of man, no matter how personified. The first term *ἀποκαραδοκία* gives the idea of a crowd of people lining the streets of a city or the stalls of a Roman amphitheatre waiting eagerly to see a procession of military heroes, in the fruits of whose victory they hope to share, pass before them.

[1] This word occurs eight times in the Pauline writings, and nowhere else in the New Testament.

This would apply to the unveiling of the sons of God—a promised unveiling (Bengel notices the force of *ἀπό* in *ἀπεκδέχεται*) going back to Genesis iii. 15, where the woman's seed is to bruise the serpent's head, which has been the hope of humanity still enthralled by that serpent's power. Such an unveiling or *ἀποκάλυψις* could only be experienced subjectively by self-conscious beings. See the use of *ἀποκαλύπτω* in Matthew xi. 25 and 27, of the Father's revelation and the revelation of the Father to men; in Matthew xvi. 17, of the revelation given to St. Peter "not by flesh and blood but by the Father"; in 1 Corinthians ii. 10 of the things God hath prepared for those who love Him unveiled inwardly by the Spirit; in Galatians i. 16 of the Son of God revealed in the soul of St. Paul; and in Ephesians iii. 5 of the mystery of the Gospel "revealed to his holy apostles in the Spirit." This inward revealing of divine truths and facts made by the Father and the Spirit to the souls of men, and distinguished from all objective manifestations expressed by *φανερόω*, would hardly be appreciated by a soulless universe. The natural creation could not possibly expect, receive, or enjoy such an *ἀποκάλυψις*. On the other hand, humanity still held fast in the shackles of sin might be suitably described as anxiously awaiting the announcement of the victory over their foe—an announcement which would be given by an inward unveiling to their souls such as was given to the Apostle John of the progress and results of the conflict; and such they alone could appreciate and enjoy.

There is a point in "sons" of God which is brought out by this interpretation. The antithesis in the passage is no longer between Jew and Gentile, nor between those who are under law and those under grace, but between those who have the firstfruits of the Spirit and those who have it not. For the Spirit is essentially the Spirit of

Sonship, of Affiliation in God. It is He who reveals that sonship by witnessing with and within us that we are children of God. "And if children, then heirs, heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ"—sons of God in deed and in truth (viii. 16, 17). The point is that the Spirit does not create this relationship. He unveils or reveals it to the souls of men in whom He indwells. His ἀποκάλυψις of such a relation to the soul in which He abides emancipates, illumines, and empowers. It is no wonder that such an unveiling would be eagerly waited for and joyously received by those who have felt the misery of self-chosen sin, and the consequent impotence and utter paralysis of the will as described in Romans vii. The inner witnessing of their conscience (Rom. ii. 14) would lead to the consciousness of their moral powerlessness to cope with sin.

The word ἑκοῦσα could not possibly be used of anything without a free will. In the only other passage where the word occurs in the New Testament St. Paul says, εἰ γὰρ ἑκὼν τοῦτο πράσσω (1 Cor. ix. 17), meaning "of my own choice and self-determination." And even if inanimate or animate creation could be personified to such an extent as to be said to sympathise with itself or with the efforts and failures of man, we cannot understand how it could be "subjected to vanity though not willingly" by God.

Supposing, for the sake of argument, that πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις is equivalent to the πάντα in πάντα γὰρ ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ of 1 Corinthians xv. 27, a quotation of Psalm viii. 6, where πάντα embraces πρόβατα, τὰ κτήνη, τὰ πετεινὰ and τοὺς ἰχθύας and that Romans viii. 20 is a back reference to Genesis i. 29, the only possible conclusion would be that St. Paul regarded man as ἡ ματαιότης. It is true that the Psalmist (cxliii. 4, LXX) says, ἄνθρωπος ματαιότητι ὡμοιώθη. But the identification of man with ματαιότης, the

description of man as a personified *ματαιότης* would even be more daring than the personification of nature in this passage, and would be quite opposed to the optimism of St. Paul. And yet the latter logically requires the former if this interpretation is to be accepted. But if *κτίσις* in this passage be man in his natural unredeemed and unregenerate condition it would be quite Pauline to regard him as subjected, unwillingly, to *ματαιότης* both in its special and its general sense. The special sense is idolatry. See Jeremiah ii. 5 (LXX), *ἀπέστησαν μακρὰν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ὀπίσω τῶν ματαίων καὶ ἐματαιώθησαν*, they followed after vain things (idols) and were made subject to vanity (idolatry). It is most probable that St. Paul, in his terrible picture in Romans i. 18–23 of the heathen who could have received light from God's revelation of Himself in nature, but refused to glorify or thank Him, and so *ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν* (v. 21), were made subject to vanity in their thoughts. The phrase is expanded in v. 25, *ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα*, "they worshipped and served the creature rather than the creator." It is to be noticed that *σεβάζομαι* only occurs here in LXX, but that *σέβασμα* in the passages in which it is found in the New Testament, 2 Thessalonians ii. 4, and Acts xvii. 23 (St. Paul's speech), as well as in Wisdom xiv. 20, and xv. 17, refers to idols, things worshipped by men instead of God. To a certain extent and in a certain manner their idolatry and wickedness were a penalty inflicted upon such people by the divine law of retribution which ordains that as a man sows he shall reap. If he sows the act, he reaps the habit; and if he sows the habit, he reaps the character, and his destiny becomes inevitable, humanly speaking. Because men changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of corruptible (*φθαρτός*) man and birds, and four-footed and creeping things God punished them by giving

them over completely to their evil thoughts and ways, their idolatry and their impurity. (1) *Διὸ καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν εἰς ἀκαθαρσίαν* (v. 24). (2) *Διὰ τοῦτο παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς εἰς πάθη ἀτιμίας* (v. 26). (3) *καθὼς . . . παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς εἰς ἀδόκιμον νοῦν*. This triple *παρέδωκεν* to impurity and a corrupt mind corresponds to the complete subjugation to *ματαιότης* implied in *ὑπετάγη*. This word is a favourite with the apostle. See 1 Corinthians xv. 27 f., where God the Father is, as here, *ὁ ὑποτάξας*, but the Son is He to whom all things are to be made subject. Death itself is included among the "all." Death will be proved then to be a *ματαιότης*, and so *καταργεῖται*, i.e. is rendered as futile as it proved in his case (v. 26). Certain things cannot be rendered ineffective or useless, and so from them man can never be discharged or freed. These are *ἡ πίστις τοῦ Θεοῦ* (Rom. iii. 3), and *νόμος* or the principle of law. But certain things are to be rendered useless and discharged, such as *τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας* (Rom. vi. 6) for those who are no longer slaves of sin; *τὰ τοῦ νηπίου* by those of man's estate (1 Cor. xv. 11); the Jewish law for those under grace (Rom. vii. 6); sin, folly, idolatry, and every form of *ματαιότης* including death for those who are living in the Spirit and not in the flesh, having been justified by faith in Christ, and become true sons of God. Sin itself is for such *ματαιότης ματαιοτήτων*, a discarded worthless thing, impotent to shackle their spiritual freedom or to pollute their spiritual purity. But for those who have not been emancipated from its power that worketh in their members it is a terrible reality. The general condition of the unwilling slaves of sin is described in the seventh chapter. The question has been asked, "To whom and to what time does the writer refer in his conspicuous use of the first person singular throughout verses 7–25 and in his use of the present tense throughout verses

14–25"? [1] It is the natural man, the man unwillingly enslaved to vanity, still in the flesh, and not yet delivered from the thraldom of sin, who is here impersonated by St. Paul, as liars are by him in iii. 4 f. ("if the truth of God through my lie," etc.). The histrionic turn of the apostle has not received due consideration. The result of his impersonation is a lurid and graphic picture of moral impotence brought on by moral lapses. The indwelling principle of sin paralyzes the will, dulls the perception of right and wrong, deadens the reproaches of conscience, weakens the power of resolution, *οὐ γὰρ ὃ θέλω ποιῶ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' ὃ οὐ θέλω κακόν, τοῦτο πράσσω* (v. 19). And so the unhappy man torn in twain between conflicting emotions and impulses and unable to decide, or, having decided, to follow the course decided upon, cries out in anguish, "Wretched man that I am, who will deliver me from this body of death" (v. 24). Is not this a clear instance of *πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις* made subject against its will to *ματαιότης*? Under the painting of his own experience before he received the firstfruits of the Spirit the apostle depicts the universal experience of the natural man, unable by himself to overcome the principle of sin in his body, to which he becomes more and more enslaved as time goes on. But ever and anon the cry went up from the more earnest of such who felt in themselves and witnessed around them the progress of the great world-conflict between good and evil: "How is it all going to end? Will the evil triumph over good, or will the good be victorious, and if so, when will the sons of God be unveiled to us?" St. Paul's answer to such is, "When sin and evil have been proved to be *ματαιότης*, or things that no longer count *τὰ μὴ ὄντα* (1 Cor. i. 29). St. John's answer is, "To this end the Son of God was mani-

[1] Prof. J. A. Beet, in EXPOSITOR, Dec. 1898, p. 456.

fested, that He might destroy the works of the devil" (1 John iii. 8).

Now we are asked to substitute for this intense yearning for redemption from evil and its power found in all the best spirits of antiquity a yearning in nature for a redemption in which it cannot logically share, and from a power which can only be said to have injured and polluted her indirectly through man. This thought occurs nowhere else in St. Paul. And in this epistle it is distinctly out of place. It certainly would be inconsistent for St. Paul, who had just spoken so emphatically against worshipping the creature, ἡ κτίσις, instead of the Creator, ὁ κτίσας (i. 25), to proceed to say in the course of the same letter anything that might be regarded as encouragement to or argument for nature-worship, especially as he was writing to men who had been newly converted from polytheism and idolatry. He had an intense horror of idolatry, which he described as fornication, in every form. No writer of the New Testament is as severe as he upon nature-worship. Could it be possible for such a man to assert that the flying, four-footed and creeping things referred to with scorn in Romans i. 23, not because of themselves, but because of the use man had made of them, would share in the future life of mankind? This has been left an open question in Scripture. Had St. Paul imagined or dreamed of such a future for animate creation he would have expressed it less dogmatically. He has elsewhere (1 Cor. vii. 6, 12, 25) distinguished his own ideas from the Lord's commandments. Indeed, the whole passage, so interpreted, would be an abrupt and unmeaning interpolation, introducing an idea to which nothing before it leads, and from which nothing after it follows. This is not in keeping with the closely reasoned argument of this Epistle.

The word κτίσις is used in this letter generally of anything created, men included. See i. 25. In viii. 38 the

angelic hierarchy is included. In Colossians i. 23 he speaks of the gospel preached, *κηρυχθέντος ἐν πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν*, where the reference can only be to man. Compare Mark xvi. 16, *κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει*, where humanity only can be meant. In 2 Corinthians v. 17 and Galatians vi. 16, *καινὴ κτίσις* refers to man alone. Colossians i. 15, *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως* corresponds somewhat to *πρωτότοκος ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς* (Rom. viii. 29). In Hebrews iv. 13, "There is no *κτίσις ἀφανής* in His sight," the reference is to man, who alone could desire to conceal things from God. Of course there are passages such as Romans i. 20, Revelation iii. 14, Hebrews ix. 11, where *κτίσις* has a wider significance. It seems then that the meaning of *κτίσις* must be determined by the context and parallel passages. The context before us we have seen cannot bear the interpretation "creation" subjected against its will to vanity and groaning and travailing together," to which there is no parallel in the Pauline epistles. There are, however, some striking parallels to *κτίσις* rendered as humanity. See Romans iii. 19, "that all the world (*πᾶς ὁ κόσμος*) may become guilty before God. Therefore by the works of the law shall no flesh (*οὐ . . . πᾶσα σάρξ*) be justified in His sight"; and 1 Corinthians i. 29, God hath chosen "things which are not to bring to nought things that are; that no flesh (*μὴ . . . πᾶσα σάρξ*) should glory in his presence." In Genesis vi. 12, "All flesh corrupted his way upon the earth . . . the end of all flesh," etc., we have a close parallel. For Noah and his were excluded from that general statement as those who have the Spirit are excluded here.

The Hebrew כָּל־בָּשָׂר, which occurs twice in Genesis vi., is rendered *πᾶσα σάρξ* and *πᾶς ἄνθρωπος* in the LXX. The *πᾶσα σάρξ* of 1 Peter i. 24 (all flesh is as grass) is taken from Psalm cii. 15, *ἄνθρωπος ὡσεὶ χόρτος*, and Isaiah xl. 6,

the previous verse in Isaiah being "all flesh (πᾶσα σάρξ) shall see the salvation of God" (LXX). This expression πᾶσα σάρξ appears then to be equivalent to πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις, and as the former refers to humanity and not to the inanimate or to the brute creation, the inference is that the latter has the same reference.

Finally, the words "in hope that the κτίσις itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God" (v. 20) recalls Isaiah xl. 5, "And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see the salvation of God" (LXX).

It is the "universal hope" that is expressed here as in *In Memoriam*.—

> "Oh yet we trust that somehow good
> Will be the final goal of ill."
>
> . . . . .
>
> "The wish that of the living whole
> No life may fail beyond the grave,
> Derives it not from that we have
> The likest God within the soul?"

In Hebrews ii. 15, They are to be "delivered who through fear of death were all their life subject to bondage." This bondage of corruption was felt by the apostle himself. In 2 Corinthians iv. 16 he said, "Though the outward man is perishing (διαφθείρεται) the inner man is being renewed day by day." "Flesh and blood," he declared, "cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither doth ἡ φθορὰ inherit ἀφθαρσία"; accordingly, "this corruptible must put on incorruption and this mortal must put on immortality" (1 Cor. xv. 50 f.). And the victory is given to them (πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις) as to us who have the firstfruits of the Spirit "through our Lord Jesus Christ." For we too, who have the earnest of the Spirit, are weighted down by the same corruptible body described in Wisdom ix. 15, Φθαρτὸν γὰρ σῶμα βαρύνει ψυχὴν καὶ βρίθει τὸ γεῶδες σκῆνος νοῦν πολυ-

φροντίδα, from which St. Paul (2 Cor. v. 1–9) seems to have taken his picture of the "earthly house of this tabernacle," He says: "for we who are in this tabernacle σκῆνος) groan στενάζομεν), being weighted down (βαρούμενοι), but having received the earnest of the Spirit eagerly await the change, the putting on of the new gift of immortality and life in which the mortal and the corruptible, whose day of rule shall then be ended, shall be swallowed up. The passages Romans viii. 18–23 and 2 Corinthians v. 1–9 are closely parallel, and help to explain each other.

In conclusion, we hold that, if πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις be regarded as equivalent to πᾶσα σάρξ in Genesis vi. and Isaiah xl., a new light is thrown upon the passage. Man in his unregenerate state of perpetual inner conflict described in chapter vii. is an involuntary slave to the sin that abides in him and rules him, holding him fast in a bitter and relentless bondage that makes him ever conscious of the frailty of this mortal flesh, and working through its παθήματα or affections (vii. 5) in his limbs. Such a life is unendurable, and every creature, πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις, that is sufficiently sensitive and enlightened to experience such inner misery cries out, "Oh, wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death?" (vii. 24).

This is the cause of the earnest expectation of the creature. This is the reason of his groaning and travailing together with the hope of a new life of liberty. It is not in sympathy with us who have the firstfruits of the Spirit that they groan and travail, but with one another. In their incessant efforts to discover the truth, to raise their fellow-creatures, and to solve the problems of existence the noblest philosophers of the old Greek schools gave full expression to this groaning, and travailing of πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις.[1] "And

[1] This κτίσις [travails together with what? See verse 25. "If we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it." It is with

not only they, but even we ourselves," continues the apostle, "we who have the firstfruits of the Spirit, (we who are ever reminded of the perpetual dualism in our nature,) groan within ourselves, eagerly awaiting our release from this body." This, we hope to show in a future article, is the correct meaning of ἡ ἀπολύτρωσις τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν in Romans viii. 23.

F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock.

this hope shared by us all that humanity has always been in travail. How could creation be said to share this hope with us who have received the firstfruits of the Spirit ?

THE MOSAIC ORIGIN OF THE DECALOGUE.

The Second Commandment.

4. But the real crux of the Decalogue is undoubtedly the second commandment. The prohibition of image worship is felt by some to conflict so irreconcilably with later usage as to render a Mosaic origin absolutely inconceivable. The difficulty lies not in the bare fact that such worship persisted in Israel for centuries—that might only prove degeneracy from a loftier and more spiritual ideal—but that it was practised, we are told, by acknowledged champions of the Jahweh worship; not only, that is, by the common people, but by men who ought to know. So formidable is the difficulty created by certain facts that the late Professor Kautzsch is driven to ask whether, under the pressure of them, we are to hold that "originally another commandment stood in the place of this one or"—as Eerdmans has suggested—"that Moses promulgated not ten but seven commandments."[1] The supposition that there were originally only seven may be dismissed as against the tradition, and against probability, considering the habit of grouping laws in pentads or decads, a habit suggested probably by the fingers of the hand. But, eliminating the second commandment, it would still be possible to retain the number ten by drawing upon the preface: "I am Jahweh thy God who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slaves." Whether the preface is integral to the original Decalogue is a question to be touched upon afterwards. If it be, its inclusion among the "commandments" is not so unreasonable as might, at first sight, be supposed, because the Hebrew text does not speak of ten commandments, but of ten

[1] *H.D.B.*, extra volume, p. 634.

" words " ; [1] and the preface might plausibly be considered as the most fundamental " word " of all. But while this defence of its inclusion among the ten " words " is theoretically possible, one can hardly help feeling that it is unnatural. If analogy counts for anything, the form of all the other " words," being a prohibition, or in two cases (in our present tradition) a command, would lead most naturally to the conclusion that all the words had this form, and that therefore the preface could not legitimately be included among the ten. We are therefore justified in retaining the second commandment.

The Ephod.

Now what are the facts supposed to be irreconcilable with Mosaic origin ? Chiefly they are—the use of the ephod, the teraphim, the calf-worship and serpent-worship ; all of which persisted unchallenged—so the argument runs —till comparatively late times. There is not much to be gleaned from the frequently discussed passage (Hos. iii. 4), " The children of Israel shall abide many days without king and without prince, and without sacrifice and without pillar, and without ephod or teraphim." [2] The implications of this passage are by no means unambiguous. Some scholars take it to imply that the ephod and teraphim were regarded as legitimate instruments of the Jahweh worship as late as the second half of the eighth century B.C. ; others that they were illegitimate ; others that the ephod was legitimate, while the teraphim were illegitimate.

Setting aside this ambiguous evidence, let us look at the principal facts. There can be no doubt that the ephod, whatever it may have been, was approved of by so unimpeachable a Jahweh worshipper as David.[3] When in

[1] Deut. iv. 13, x. 4 ; cf. Exod. xxxiv. 28.
[2] See e.g. J. Robertson, *The Early Religion of Israel*, p. 239.
[3] I Sam. xxiii. 9, xxx. 7.

doubt, he appeals to the priest to bring the ephod; and, when it is brought, it is then possible to secure an oracle from Jahweh. In the two cases of its use recorded the oracle announces to David either what he may expect or what he ought to do in a campaign. To judge from a very interesting manipulation of the text in 1 Samuel xiv. 18, later ages, scenting perhaps heathen analogies, seem to have been rather ashamed of this method of ascertaining the divine will; and the simple request of Saul (like those of David already mentioned) to the priest, "Bring hither *the ephod*—for he carried the ephod that day before Israel"[1] —is skilfully transformed by those who gave us our present Hebrew text into the more innocent "Bring hither *the ark of God*—for *the ark of God* was at that time (?) with the children of Israel." An earlier reference occurs in the story of Gideon, who is said[2] to have made an ephod out of the gold (and purple raiment ?) taken as booty from the Midianites, and "put" it in his city, even Ophrah. What was this ephod? The word rendered "put" in the English versions (A.V., R.V. and Amer. R.V.) is וַיַּצֵּג, which the late Professor Driver[3] renders by "set" or "stood," and this acknowledged meaning of the word has helped to create the impression that this ephod, at any rate, was

[1] So the LXX: *καὶ εἶπεν Σαοὺλ τῷ Ἀχειά, Προσάγαγε τὸ ἐφούδ. ὅτι αὐτὸς ἦρεν τὸ ἐφοὺδ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐνώπιον Ἰσραήλ.* The analogy of 1 Sam. xxiii. 9, xxx. 7 puts it beyond all doubt that LXX has preserved the original text. True, אפוד (*ephod*) and ארון (*ark*) are not unlike in outline; but the corruption is too extensive and the reason for it too obvious to justify us in supposing that the original text was ארון and אפוד, which LXX must have read, a later accidental confusion. That the text has further suffered in the course of manipulation is clear from the concluding words ובני ישראל = "*and* the children of Israel," which is here impossible.) A similar transformation has been effected in 1 Kings ii. 26, where Solomon says to Abiathar, according to our present text, "Thou didst bear the *ark* ארון of the Lord Jahweh before David my father." The reading *ephod*, though unsupported by the versions, is practically certain.

[2] Jud. viii. 26 f.

[3] *H.D.B.*, vol. i. p. 725, col. ii.

an image of Jahweh—an impression confirmed by the words that follow, "and all Israel played the harlot after it there." This is believed to be the comment of a later prophetic editor, and therefore valueless as an indication of contemporary opinion, which, it is contended, would really have applauded Gideon for this sumptuous proof of his magnificent loyalty to Jahweh, even after making allowance for exaggeration in the amount of gold used upon the image. The comment, however, might really be an early censure, directed against Gideon for establishing an ephod in opposition to the official one in the central sanctuary at Shiloh —note the elaborate and scarcely unintentional emphasis of the phrases "in his city, even in Ophrah—*there*," [1] which reminds us of the similar contrast, this time explicit, between the sanctuary of Dan with its images, and the (imageless) house of God which was in Shiloh (Jud. xviii. 31). The question of what the ephod was, however, is not thereby decided. Professor König,[2] following Sellin,[3] has pointed out that ויצג does not necessarily mean "set"; the same verb happens to be used again in this very story of Gideon (and elsewhere) to describe what he did with his fleece, "Behold I will *put* מצית a piece of wool on the threshing-floor." [4] This disposes of the view that the verb implies, or at least suggests, that the ephod was an image: here also the verb may be quite fairly rendered by "put" or "deposited."

In discussing a word of possibly ambiguous significance, it is well to begin with illustrations of its use in which there is no ambiguity. Now there is not the smallest doubt about the later meaning of the word. In P the ephod is

[1] See E. König, *Geschichte der Alttestamentlichen Religion*, pp. 213 f.
[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 213.
[3] Das israelitische Ephod (in *Orientalische Studien*, dedicated to Nöldeke), p. 10.
[4] Jud. vi. 37.

one of the high priest's garments, fully described in Exodus xxviii. 6–8, xxxix. 2–5, and alluded to elsewhere, and is fittingly characterised, in the words of Driver, as "an ornamental kind of *waistcoat*." Several allusions in the early Book of Samuel show that the "linen ephod" was also a priestly garment [1]—doubtless of a less elaborate kind. Thus in periods lying six hundred years apart the word had demonstrably the fixed meaning of priestly garment; and the burden of proof lies with those who maintain that it also means something else. Now there is no real necessity for believing that in the Gideon story it means "image," and this must be considered distinctly improbable in the light of the early story of Micah in Judges xvii. f., where images are mentioned *alongside* of ephod and teraphim, as if the last two were different things (e.g. xviii. 18). The passages in Samuel already alluded to show that the ephod had some oracular significance. We shall be safe in assuming that the priest put it on (as we have seen reason to believe that it was sometimes, if not always, a garment) when he had occasion to consult the oracle. The supernatural power of the god was perhaps supposed to be mysteriously transferred to the priest when invested with this sacred garment and this power discloses itself in the decision of the lot. In the high priest's so-called "breastplate of judgment" were the Urim and Thummim; [2] and, although the real meaning of these things had either vanished or been purposely obscured when P came to be written, a curious passage in the LXX, deliberately suppressed—as we must suppose—in the Massoretic text, shows us plainly what they were. In 1 Samuel xiv. 41—the same chapter as exhibited, we saw, another important textual manipulation, and for a similar reason (ver. 18)—Saul, anxious to

[1] E.g., 1 Sam. xxii. 18 (ii. 18).
[2] Exod. xxviii. 30.

discover whose sin was responsible for Jahweh's silence, "said to Jahweh, the God of Israel, 'Give a perfect (lot ?) הָבָה תָמִים. And Jonathan and Saul were taken, but the people escaped." This passage is more than obscure, it is unintelligible: but when we turn to the much longer Septuagint text, it becomes comparatively simple. It runs thus: *καὶ εἶπεν Σαούλ, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσραήλ, τί ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεκρίθης τῷ δούλῳ σου σήμερον; ἢ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐν Ἰωναθὰν τῷ υἱῷ μου ἡ ἀδικία; Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσραήλ, δὸς δήλους· καὶ ἐὰν τάδ' εἴπῃ, δὸς δὴ τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραήλ, δὸς δὴ ὁσιότητα. καὶ κληροῦται Ἰωναθὰν καὶ Σαούλ, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐξῆλθεν.* By its rendering of וַיִּלָּכֵד (*and he was taken*) by *κληροῦται*, the LXX betrays its consciousness that this is a case of decision by lot: its *δηλοὺς* and *ὁσιότητα*, however, show pretty plainly that it did not understand the Hebrew text before it (unless indeed—which is not probable—the Greek translators, like the Jewish scholars who omitted the passage altogether,[1] deliberately obscured the meaning, as involving heathen implications). The ultimate text, however, can be easily reconstructed: *δῆλοι* translates אוּרִים in 1 Samuel xxviii. 6, Numbers xxvii. 21, Deuteronomy xxxiii. 8, and *ὁσιότης*, we may safely assume, corresponds to תֻּמִּים.[2] We may conjecture that, in their original use, the Urim and Thummim, "on the analogy of the *sortes* of classical antiquity, may have been two stones, either in the shape of dice or in tablet form, perhaps also of different

[1] The cause of the omission may indeed be accidental, lying "evidently in the occurrence of the same word ישראל before both למה לא (*τί ὅτι οὐκ*) and הבה תמים" (see Driver, *Notes on Hebrew Text of Samuel*). But this seems to me less probable, in view of the deliberate manipulation in *v.* 18.

[2] In Exod. xxviii. 30 and Lev. viii. 8 *Urim* and *Thummim* are rendered by *ἡ δήλωσις* and *ἡ ἀλήθεια*; in Deut. xxxiii. 8 by *δῆλοι* and *ἀλήθεια*; in Ezra ii. 63 by (dat.) *τοῖς φωτίζουσιν καὶ τοῖς τελείοις*; in Neh. vii. 65 לאורים by *φωτίσων*, while תמים is untranslated. All this goes to show that when the books were translated, these terms were not understood, and in particular that there was no generally accepted rendering of *Thummim*.

colours,"[1] and that in their application they were comparable to the arrow-oracles, so well illustrated by Ezekiel xxi. 26 f. (A.V. 21 f.), where Nebuchadrezzar, at the parting of the ways, and in doubt whether to proceed against the Ammonite Rabbah or Jerusalem, is represented as "shaking arrows to and fro," and deciding according to the arrow which fell out, each arrow being inscribed with the name of one of the cities. Sometimes the arrows or stones or sticks, as the case might be, would be marked Yes or No, as in the case of the questions put by David to the oracle in the Samuel passages alluded to, which demanded a categorical answer. Significantly enough, there is no mention of the use of the Urim and the Thummim in the historical narratives after the time of David, doubtless because there were emerging more spiritual and worthy exponents of the divine will; Saul himself is said to have put away wizards and those that had familiar spirits.[2] This opposition to whatever was felt to be inconsistent with the ethical quality of the Jahweh religion received its most elaborate and eloquent expression in the seventh century, when the whole tribe of augurs, enchanters, sorcerers, charmers, wizards, necromancers, etc., was repudiated in favour of the true members of the prophetic order, who alone were able to interpret Jahweh's purpose truly.[3] But it is as good as certain that the ephod, *in the sense of a priestly garment*, with its attached Urim and Thummim, was in use in David's time; and there is really no convincing reason for supposing that Gideon's ephod was anything else, though a very luxurious specimen, no doubt.

In the so-called "Blessing of Moses," which unquestionably preserves much ancient material, the Urim and Thummim are definitely said to be in the possession of the tribe

[1] Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy in *H.D.B.*, vol. iv. p. 840, col. i.
[2] 1 Sam. xxviii. 3. [3] Deut. xviii. 9–16.

of Levi,[1] a tribe which tradition, confirmed by the next verse of the poem (Deut. xxxiii. 9) maintains received its consecration to the priestly office from Moses.[2] These facts, coupled with the tradition in P which associates the institution of ephod, Urim and Thummim with the name of Moses, justify us in believing that these things are really as old as Moses, and that the ephod never was an image. It was, as parallelism and the use of the word אִפֹּדָה in Isaiah xxx. 22 suggest, a covering. If, then, the ephod was not an image, its use does not contravene the second commandment.

At this point another question might be fairly raised, whether, if we admit not only the tolerance but the use, by Moses, of the oracular ephod, Urim and Thummim, which were later repudiated, and which, in the post-exilic age, had only a reminiscent and symbolic value, we are not implicating Moses in a conception of religion unworthy of the severe and simple dignity of the Decalogue, and whether we should not, therefore, from this point of view, be driven to deny or question his association with the Decalogue. But there is no essential inconsistency in these two conceptions of Moses, if historical investigation can substantiate them. The greatest of men share many of the beliefs and practices of their contemporaries, though in other respects they may vastly transcend them. Luther, though he inaugurated a new religious era, yet carried over into it from the past elements which were essentially inconsistent with the new spirit of challenge and criticism, of which he was so uniquely brilliant an exponent. So with Moses. Though he was head and shoulders above the people, and therefore saw further than they, yet he stood, as he could not but stand, on the soil on which they stood. He was, we know, one of the world's great leaders,

[1] Deut. xxxiii. 8. [2] Exod. xxxii. 25–29.

a man of genius and the creator of a nation, but an ancient man and a Semite withal.

The Teraphim.

Whether the teraphim were inconsistent with the second commandment will depend on whether they were images (or an image—the word is always found in the plural, even when apparently referring to one object). As there is no description of the teraphim anywhere such as we have of the later form of the ephod in P [1] we are left to conjecture what it was; but two points are clear. (i.) It was known and used beyond Israel—it is connected with Aramæan worship in the story of Jacob in E,[2] and it was familiar also in Babylon.[3] (ii.) Further, it was used in connexion with oracles and divination. The most graphic illustration of its use occurs in the passage of Ezekiel xxi. 26 (A.V. 21) where Nebuchadrezzar, in order to discover the divine will "at the parting of the ways," besides shaking the arrows and inspecting the liver, consulted the teraphim; and in a probably post-exilic passage the teraphim are paralleled with diviners קֹסְמִים.[4] In keeping with this is their occasional association with the ephod,[5] which, as we have seen, was oracular, and the mention of both alongside of the sacred image in Judges xviii. 17 would go to suggest that it was not an image.

The word occurs in two anecdotes—both, as it happens, involving amusing instances of deception. In the one, Jacob and his Aramæan wives are escaping from Laban; [6] in the other, Michal is contriving an escape for her husband David, who was being hunted by the emissaries of Saul.[7] From the latter story the inference has been drawn that the substitute for David which was to deceive the messengers

[1] Exod. xxviii. 6 ff.
[2] Gen. xxxi. 19, xxxv. 2, 4.
[3] Ezek. xxi. 26 (A.V. 21).
[4] Zech. x. 2.
[5] Cf. Hos. iii. 4.
[6] Gen. xxxi. 19, 34.
[7] 1 Sam. xix. 13.

of Saul must have been a figure resembling a human being, and the further inference that the teraphim were probably household gods, so that here we should have a trace of ancestor worship. But while this suits the one passage, it does not so well suit the other, where Rachel sits on the teraphim which is concealed in the camel's basket-saddle. The difficulty could be easily surmounted, no doubt, by assuming that the figures varied in size; but in truth there is no need to suppose in the David story that the figure was more than "a head or at most a bust."[1] Gressmann,[2] however, starting from the curious story in Exodus xxxiv. 29–35 of the veil[3] which—apparently in the original form of the story—Moses wore when he was communicating the will of Jahweh to the people, has put forward the view that the teraphim was a mask worn by the priest when he was officially announcing an oracle. This would explain the association of the ephod and the teraphim—the one the priest's dress, the other his mask, in distant times (though no longer in historical Israel) the dress and mask of the sacred image, so that the priest, in putting them on to deliver an oracle, was supposed to be invested with the power of the god whose priest he was. Professor G. A. Cooke[4] objects that "this does not seem to explain the private domestic use of the teraphim." But we are not bound to suppose that masks were confined to sacred persons or places; they would easily lend themselves to farcical uses, and might well be found in private houses.

It is perhaps not without significance that both the stories in which the teraphim occur are amusing: in the one Rachel deceives her father by sitting on them, and in

[1] *H.D.B.*, vol. iv. p. 719.

[2] *Mose und seine Zeit*, pp. 246 ff.; *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments*, 2 *Lieferung*, p. 86.

[3] מַסְוֶה occurs only in this passage, vers. 33–35.

[4] Cambridge Bible, *Judges and Ruth*, p. 160.

the other, "when the messengers came, *behold, it was a teraphim* in the bed." We can imagine the shout of laughter with which the words *Behold, the teraphim* were greeted by the successive Hebrew audiences which listened to the story. This is another way of saying that these allusions to the teraphim contain a satire, kindly perhaps rather than contemptuous. Such an attitude on the part of the Elohist in the eighth century would not be surprising; but this critical note, as we see, is already struck in David's time. And this agrees well with the fact already mentioned, that there is no recorded use of the oracular Urim and Thummim, which were associated with the ephod, after the time of David. Already powerful spiritual forces were at work which were gently, but surely, disengaging the religion of Israel from heathen conceptions and paraphernalia in which it had not unnaturally been involved.

It is interesting to note that in the story of David the teraphim are not directly challenged. They are found in the house of one whose loyalty to Jahweh was not only above the faintest suspicion, but even more than usually earnest and exuberant,[1] and the historian has no word of protest to offer, such as is offered in Genesis xxxv. 2, 4 by E. Those who believe that the teraphim was an image have taken this to prove pretty conclusively that there could not have been any such commandment in David's time as the second; but if the teraphim was a mask, the argument falls to the ground.

Calf Worship.

More fatal than the ephod and teraphim to the Mosaic origin of the second commandment has been felt by many scholars to be the calf-worship which persisted in the Northern Kingdom throughout its whole history, from the

[1] Cf. 2 Sam. vi., esp. ver. 14.

days of Jeroboam I., who established it at Bethel and Dan,[1] to the days of the prophet Hosea, who denounced it with such biting sarcasm.[2] The calf-worship was unquestionably intended as Jahweh-worship, sincere, though degraded; of no other god could it be said that he had brought Israel up out of the land of Egypt (1 Kings xii. 28). True, there runs throughout the Book of Kings [3] a fierce protest against Jeroboam as the chief instrument in leading Israel astray —a protest aimed no doubt not only in general at the use of the "high places" in the worship of Jahweh, but by implication also at the calf-worship. This is indeed expressly stated in the historian's estimate of Jehu: "from the sins of Jeroboam wherewith he made Israel to sin, from these Jehu departed not, even from the golden calves in Bethel and Dan"; [4] and calf-worship is one of the items in the lurid indictment of the sins which explained and justified the fall of the Northern Kingdom.[5]

These denunciations admittedly occur in redactional passages; they are therefore usually held to reflect late Deuteronomist opinion, and consequently to offer no fair criterion as to the legitimacy or illegitimacy of such worship for the earlier period. It could easily be shown that Jeroboam was acting in good faith and in what he believed to be the best interests of the cause of Jahweh and His people. Those interests had been gravely imperilled by Solomon in two directions—the political and the religious. In order to secure money and labour for the building of his gorgeous palace and temple, and for the maintenance of his extravagant court, Solomon—in this the typical Oriental despot—wantonly encroached upon the property and

[1] 1 Kings xii. 28 f. [2] viii. 5, x. 5, xiii. 2.
[3] Cf. 1 Kings xiv. 6, 16, xv. 30, 34, xvi. 2; 2 Kings xiii. 2, 6, xiv. 24, xvii. 21 f.
[4] 2 Kings x. 29. [5] 2 Kings xvii. 16.

the liberty of his subjects. There is evidence enough of that—not only in the early statement that he raised a levy of thirty thousand men out of all Israel [1] (a statement which the later historian mitigates, if he does not directly contradict, by raising the levy out of the native Canaanite population [2]), but also in the words of the people's complaint to Rehoboam, "Thy father made our yoke grievous: now therefore make thou the grievous service of thy father and his heavy yoke which he put upon us, lighter." [3] This socio-political consideration partly explains the revolution which set Jeroboam upon the throne, and which was really an attempt to restore the democratic situation of the period of the judges—that liberty, equality and fraternity which were so dear to the heart of every Israelite, and which naturally flowed from the conception of Jahweh as the Father of His people. As His sons, they were brethren one of another.[4]

But the revolution had another aspect, and it is this other aspect which is emphasised by Ahijah of Shiloh, the prophet who instigated Jeroboam to strike the blow.[5] The speech which he addresses to Jeroboam is usually considered to be unhistorical, chiefly because it betrays throughout—as one cannot deny—the hand of the redactor, partly because it lays exclusive emphasis upon religious considerations, and is silent on the political grievances which, as we have seen, formed no small contributory cause of the revolution. Ahijah's denunciation falls entirely upon Solomon's worship of the foreign gods, Ashtoreth, Kemosh, Milcom, etc.—a worship which followed naturally from his marriage with foreign princesses, these marriages themselves being the obverse side of Solomon's commercial ambitions. Now

[1] 1 Kings v. 27 (13 in E.V.).
[2] 1 Kings ix. 21 f.
[3] xii. 4.
[4] Isa. i. 2; Deut. xiv. 1.
[5] 1 Kings xi. 29 ff.

there is no real reason for doubting the historicity of the essential point of Ahijah's speech, however heavily it has been redacted.[1] Faith in Jahweh, the mighty "man of war," must have been enormously encouraged, if it needed encouragement, by Israel's successful occupation of the goodly land of Canaan. David, a devout worshipper of Jahweh, had publicly recognised Him as the true centre of Israel's national life, by having His ark solemnly brought up to the capital, Jerusalem; and there must have been some, probably many, who feared and deprecated the religious innovations of Solomon, as essentially inconsistent with the faith handed down by the fathers. The protest of Ahijah is proof enough of that, for surely it cannot be drawn from the air. In the situation created by the commercial ambitions of Solomon—for these explain the marriages, and these again the recognition of other gods—such a protest was, we might say, inevitable. The truth appears to be that, as Jeroboam's revolution was a conservative protest against the political behaviour of Solomon, it was also a conservative protest against his religious behaviour; and the absence of the political aspect of the situation from Ahijah's speech is explained partly by the fact that to him as a prophet (even in the early sense of that word) that aspect would be the most important, and partly by the historian's well-known tendency to concentrate, especially in the speeches, on things religious.

A new light is now cast upon Jeroboam's conduct in making the calves. He has his own diplomatic motives, no doubt, for desiring the people to resort to Bethel and Dan rather than to Jerusalem; but, in the light of the conservative nature of his protest, it is possible for us to believe that he genuinely imagined himself to be maintaining the

[1] See Sellin, *Beiträge zur israelitischen und jüdischen Religionsgeschichte*, Heft i. 24 f.; Heft ii. 169 ff.

best traditions of Jahweh-worship. In harmony with this is the interesting statement which concludes the account of the founding of the sanctuary of Dan in Judges xvii. f.[1] that the priesthood of that sanctuary could be traced back to a grandson of Moses.[2] The image [3] associated with this sanctuary is not described; all we know is that it was costly, and apparently an image of Jahweh (xvii. 3 f.). It is tempting to suppose that this was a calf image; but, as this is not stated, it cannot be certain. If it was such an image, then Jeroboam might very well claim to be perpetuating an ancient tradition of worship which ran almost, though not quite, back to Moses. Even if it was not a calf image, we are still left with a difficult problem on our hands, so far as the second commandment is concerned, for, in any case, the grandson of Moses is associated with a sanctuary, one of whose chief glories was an image of Jahweh.

But is this tradition necessarily correct? On the one hand, it might be said that a tradition so dishonouring to Moses would not be likely to have been invented. But that would partly depend on the date and locality of the tradition. It certainly could not have arisen in late times;

[1] It has been conjectured, with considerable plausibility, that these chapters (even in their original, as certainly in their redacted, form, cf. xvii. 6, xviii. 1) are a satirical criticism of the sanctuary at Dan, which had its origin in acts of violence, deception and robbery. Cf. the burlesque contexts—already referred to—of the teraphim, which constitute an implicit criticism.

[2] Jud. xviii. 30.

[3] In spite of xvii. 4, there were probably not two images. Either פסל belongs to one document and מסכה to the other (Moore); or פסל, *graven image*, became a general term for *image*, which was then more definitely explained by the addition of מסכה, *molten image* (Gressmann, *Die Schriften des A.T.*, xxvi. 258). In xviii. 30 f. only one image is mentioned; and that only one is intended even in xvii. 4 is clear from the singular verb in the last clause ויהי (and *it was*, etc.). As it was made of silver (xvii. 4) it was no doubt *molten*; the פסל therefore of xviii. 30 f. was probably *a molten image*.

but it could conceivably have arisen in earlier times and in northern Israel, to justify the popular form of worship there. The people, no less than the prophets,[1] are conscious of their intimate association with the past; but the priests who officiated at sanctuaries which were later regarded as illegitimate, may have themselves believed, and encouraged among the worshippers, a very different version of that past from that of the prophets. When we consider the later tendency to refer all laws and contemporary usages back to Moses,[2] we cannot suppose that the kind of priests described and denounced in Hosea iv. would be at a loss to defend the antiquity of their worship. Against this may be urged the definiteness of the tradition which specially singles out Jonathan a grandson; but the question may be fairly raised whether the latter half of the verse (Jud. xviii. 30) is integral to the original verse. Part of it at any rate is very late: "He and his sons were priests to the tribe of the Danites *until the day of the captivity of the land.*" This part of the verse implies, at the earliest, a date as late as 734 or 721 B.C., and possibly much later —in other words, a date at least four hundred years after the event to which it testifies, viz. the priesthood of Jonathan. But further, it cannot be said that the reference to Jonathan comes in naturally where it does. The appropriate place for the mention of his name would have been at the beginning of the story, about xvii. 8, rather than at the end. If it be argued that, where it stands, it has the force of a dramatic surprise, it has to be said, on the other side, that the rest of the verse, of which the reference to Jonathan forms an integral part, is demonstrably, as we

[1] Amos ii. 9–11; Hos. xi. 1, etc.

[2] Cf. P *passim*; well illustrated by Num. xxxi. 27, where the law of booty, which definitely originated with David (1 Sam. xxx. 24 f.), is carried back to Moses.

have seen, a very late addition. Thus the only real support for the association of a grandson of Moses with image worship is a clause of a verse written about half a millennium afterwards. It may, of course, be a true tradition —that can neither be proved nor disproved: but even if true, it would not necessarily follow that Moses prescribed or tolerated image worship. There is no natural law which obliges a grandson to follow in the strict and stern paths of his grandfather; and, even when allowance is made for the operation of the conservative spirit in worship and ritual, the conduct of Eli's sons [1] shows how easily precedent can be defied, and how naturally the sons of priests, like the sons of other people, may yield to temptation—whether of avarice or unspirituality. The temptation to image or bull worship would meet Israel as soon as she began to settle among the agricultural people of Canaan: and we know that many of the people, and no doubt some of the priests, succumbed.

For these reasons, then, the statement about the grandson of Moses ought in no way to prejudice us against a Mosaic origin for the second commandment. But on the other hand, whether supported or not by the tradition of a form of worship that ran back to the second generation after Moses, Jeroboam, while skilfully promoting his own political interests, may be credited with having encouraged a worship which he believed to be ancient and legitimate. Was it either?

J. E. McFadyen.

[1] 1 Sam. ii. 12–17.

THE GATES OF HADES.

Few words of Scripture have received more attention from expositors than the momentous words ascribed in St. Matthew's Gospel to our Lord, in which the great promise was given to St. Peter: "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it" (St. Matt. xvi. 18). It is not the purpose of this paper to inquire into the doctrinal bearings of this much controverted passage; I desire to examine the last clause only, with the view of discovering, if possible, what the imagery means. The words are: *καὶ πύλαι ᾅδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς.*

The usual interpretation of the phrase "the gates of Hades" is that it means "the powers of Hades," and thus we reach the promise that the powers of evil shall not finally prevail against the Church. No doubt, that is the general sense of the passage. But if the thought is of Hades attacking the Church, why are the *gates* of Hades mentioned? Dr. Plummer exposes the difficulty well. "If aggressiveness were the prominent idea, we should hardly have the metaphor of a building with gates. Gates keep people in and keep people out, and are necessary for the strength of a citadel, but they do not fight." [1] Dr. Plummer does not offer any complete solution of the difficulty, but he adds that "it may be doubted whether the rendering *the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it* gives the exact meaning." He is too sound a scholar to equate "gates of

[1] *An exegetical Commentary on St. Matthew*, p. 230.

Hades" with "powers of Hades," which latter (or something equivalent) is what the context requires.

Indeed, no evidence, which will bear analysis, is forthcoming for this equation. Alford says that it is "a well-known oriental form of speech," but the only justification of this which he offers is that "the Turkish Empire is known as the Ottoman Porte." But the fact that the Turkish Foreign Office is sometimes called the "Sublime Porte" no more proves that *porte* = *puissance*, than the fact that the French Foreign Office is sometimes called the "Quai d'Orsay" would prove that *quai* = *puissance*. In the East much of the business of a city is transacted at the gate of the city, but there is no eastern form of speech which would permit us to speak of *powers* as *gates*.

The phrase "gates of Hades" is quite common both in Greek and Hebrew literature. In Isaiah xxxviii. 10 Hezekiah says, "I shall go into the gates of Sheol" (*ἐν πύλαις ᾅδου καταλείψω τὰ ἔτη*). In Wisdom xvi. 13 we have the confession "Thou leadest down to the gates of Hades" (*κατάγεις εἰς πύλας ᾅδου*). In 3 Maccabees v. 51 the Jews in imminent danger of death are said to be "standing at the gates of Hades" (*ἤδη πυὸς πύλαις ᾅδου καθεστῶτας*). In these and similar passages *πύλαι ᾅδου* means "the gates," i.e., the vestibule of Hades or the entrance to Hades. And we have exactly the same usage in Homer (*αἴδαο πύλαι*, *Iliad* v. 646, ix. 312; *Odyssey* xiv. 156), and in Aeschylus (*αἴδου πύλαι*, *Agam.* 1291).[1]

Πύλαι, then, means "gates," and there is no evidence that it can mean "powers." Starting from this, the suggestion has been made (I believe by Bishop Westcott,[2] but I cannot verify the reference) that the idea underlying St. Matthew xvi. 18*b* is not that of the Church being attacked by the

[1] Cf. also Psalms of Solomon xvi. 2.

[2] It was made to me independently by the Bishop of Killaloe.

"gates of Hades," but of the "gates of Hades" being attacked by the Church. In this view, the Church would not be represented as defending itself against assault, but as storming the fortress of Hades victoriously, the gates of the fortress being unable to resist the attack. Nothing can resist the conquering progress of the Church of Christ. There is something attractive in this interpretation, and it might be thought that it is supported by the early belief in the "Harrowing of Hell" by the victorious Christ, which finds elaborate expression in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, otherwise called the *Descensus ad inferos*. In this document, which probably goes back to the second century, the storming of the Gates of Hades by Christ is a principal feature. Hades, who is personified, directs the gates of brass to be shut, but it is of no avail, for in the victory of Christ the words of the Psalm were fulfilled: "He hath broken the gates of brass, and smitten the bars of iron in sunder." [1] The gates of Hades do not prevail against Christ, and it might be thought that the promise in St. Matthew xvi. 18*b* is that they, in like manner, shall not prevail against His Church, in its attack upon the fortress of evil.

But the difficulty in this interpretation is that it does not harmonise with the earlier part of the verse. In St. Matthew xvi. 18*a* the Church is conceived as a building established upon a rock. Now a building cannot move forth to fight any more than gates can. It is plainly the building which is represented as secure against attack or overthrow.

I suggest that the key to the metaphor [2] is to be found in the parable with which the Sermon on the Mount closes—the parable of the Wise Man who built his house upon the rock, "and the rain descended and the floods came and

[1] Ps. cvii. 16.

[2] Origen brings St. Matt. vii. 24 and xvi. 18 together (*in Matt.* tom. xii. ed Lommatzsch iii. 149).

the winds blew, and beat upon that house ; and it fell not ; for it was founded upon the rock." [1] Or to quote the form in which the parable appears in St. Luke's Gospel : the faithful hearer is " like a man building a house, who digged and went deep and laid a foundation upon the rock ;[2] and then a flood arose, the stream brake against that house, and could not shake it ; because it had been well builded." [3] St. Matthew's version is probably an amplification of that in St. Luke, the root idea being that a house which is built firmly upon a rock is not liable to be swept away by floods or torrential rivers.

The Church, according to St. Matthew xvi. 18, is such a building. The Wise Builder has founded it upon a rock, and the forces of destruction, the spiritual floods of evil, cannot prevail against it.

There are passages in the Old Testament which, although not parallel at every point, contain similar thoughts. The theme of the eighteenth Psalm is, " the Lord is my Rock," the Rock of the soul. The floods of Belial (v. 4) beat against the soul, but in its fear the soul calls upon God, who delivers it " out of many waters " (v. 16). Thus the righteous soul conquers, and thus alone : " Who is a Rock, beside our God ? " (v. 31). In like manner, in Isaiah xxviii. the powerlessness of the waters of Hades against the Corner Stone of sure foundation is described. The scorners of Jerusalem boasted that they had made a covenant with Death and Hades, so that " when the overflowing scourge shall pass through " (v. 15), it should not come to them. But the Lord said that He had laid " in Zion a stone for a foundation " (v. 16) as the only security ; the scorners would be overwhelmed by the overflowing waters (v. 18).

[1] St. Matt. vii. 24.

[2] Compare *οὐκ ἴσχυσε σαλεῦσαι αὐτήν* of St. Luke vi. 48 with *οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς* of St. Matt. xvi. 18.

[3] St. Luke vi. 48.

I have shown in a former article [1] how familiar to a Jew was the idea of the forces of evil as an overwhelming flood. The route from Hades, the abode of evil powers, to earth was a waterway. All rivers and oceans are connected with the waters of Hades, the overflowings of which caused the great Flood in the days of Noah. Then it was that the fountains of the Deep (*αἱ πηγαὶ τῆς ἀβύσσου*) were opened [2] for destruction. No more natural way of describing in Hebrew speech an incursion of the infernal powers could be found than to speak of them coming as a flood of devastating waters. The devastations of the Last Judgment were compared by Christ at another time to the waters of the Deluge.[3] Thus we should have all clear in St. Matthew xvi. 18 if, instead of *πύλαι*, we had some word like *ὕδατα* or *ποταμοί*, for the similitude would then be in exact conformity with St. Matthew vii. 24 = St. Luke vi. 48, it would be free from confusion of metaphor, and its language entirely Biblical and in harmony with Jewish habits of thought.

There is, however, no variant recorded for *πύλαι ᾅδου* in St. Matthew xvi. 18, and any attempt to emend the text, which (as has been shown) does not yield a consistent sense, must be conjectural. It is not possible to arrive at certainty. I would submit with some confidence that a case has been made for challenging the word *πύλαι*, but what is now suggested further by way of emendation is, of course, only tentative.

It is barely possible that *πύλαι* is a corruption of *πηγαί*, the phrase *πηγαὶ ᾅδου* being then comparable to *αἱ πηγαὶ τῆς ἀβύσσου* of Genesis vii. 11. This would yield the sense that the context seems to require : " the fountains of Hades," the overflowings of the underworld of mystery and evil,

[1] Expositor, April, 1916, pp. 242, 270.
[2] Gen. vii. 11.
[3] St. Matt. xxiv. 39.

"shall not prevail against it." But *πηγαί* and *πύλαι* are not very like each other in scripts of the first century; and it is more probable that the corruption in the text—if corruption there be—goes further back than the Greek of our present St. Matthew.

Let us ask, then: Is there any Hebrew or Aramaic word meaning "waters," or "rivers," or "floods," or "storms," which might be misinterpreted to mean "gates" and so mistranslated *πύλαι*? The answer is that there are two such words, and we must consider separately the two corresponding solutions of our riddle.

(1) The precise confusion that we are seeking appears in Daniel viii. 2. Here the Hebrew has: וְאָנִי הָיִיתִי עַל־אוּבַל אוּלָי, that is, "I was by the river Ulai." The word אוּבַל, meaning "flowing water," is a rare word, only occurring in this form in Daniel viii. (although we have it in the form יְבַל in Jer. xvii. 8; cf. Isa. xxx. 25, xliv. 4). Its stem is אָבַל "to flow." In Theodotion's version of Daniel viii. 2, he does not attempt to translate it, and omits it, his rendering being *ἤμην ἐπὶ τοῦ Οὐβάλ*. But the Seventy translate the words: *ὄντος μου πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ Αἰλάμ*. That is, the Septuagint at Daniel viii. 2. (and also at vv. 3, 6) translate the Hebrew word אוּבַל, which means "river," by *πύλη* as if it meant "gate." This is exactly the same corruption as that which I suppose to be behind the Greek *πύλαι* of St. Matthew xvi. 18. And the corruption is perpetuated to our own day. The Vulgate, following the LXX, has, in Daniel viii. 2, "super *portam* Ulai"; and in Daniel viii. 6, "ante *portam*," although in Daniel viii. 3 it substitutes "ante *paludem*." And the Douay English version gives accordingly "over the *gate* of Ulai," and "before the *gate*" in Daniel viii. 2, 6.

That is to say, while the Authorised and Revised versions preserve the correct renderings of the Hebrew "by the *river*

of Ulai," "before the *river*" in Daniel viii. 2, 6, the Douay version preserves the ancient misinterpretation "over the "*gate* of Ulai," "before the *gate*." In the Douay version, then, we have the word *gate* where we ought to have the word *river*; and the mistake is due, not to any various or aberrant text, but to an ancient mistranslation of a rare Aramaic word. Is it not probable that a similar mistake lies behind the word "gates" in St. Matthew xvi. 18*b*?

(2) It may be said, however, that אוּבַל is a rare word, and unlikely to have been used in ordinary speech, so that it would be hazardous to assume that it was behind *πύλαι* in St. Matthew xvi. 18. We do not perhaps know enough of the conversational Aramaic of our Lord's public ministry to dogmatise as to what words were or were not likely to have been in use.

But there is another, perhaps a simpler, explanation of the presence of *πύλαι* in the Greek text, which must now be given.

If we were asked to put *καὶ πύλαι ᾅδου* back into Hebrew, we should naturally write יִשְׁעֲרֵי שְׁאוֹל, for שַׁעַר is the ordinary Hebrew word for "gate." (The text appears thus in Delitzsch's Hebrew St. Matthew.) But the same word, differently pointed, שַׁעַר, means "storm" in Isaiah xxviii. 2. And it is specially remarkable that in Isaiah xxviii. 2 the word שַׁעַר is wrongly written שַׁעַר in some Hebrew manuscripts, as Rosenmüller [1] states in his note *in loc.*: "In codicibus haud paucis et libris editis pro שַׁעַר legitur שַׁעַר (cum *Schin*) *porta*, quod aegre sensum admittit." In other words, in "not a few manuscripts," as well as in some printed editions of the Hebrew Bible, we have שַׁעַר a *gate* mistakenly read for שַׁעַר a *storm*, which is the true text. This is the identical confusion which I suggest has been made by the Greek

[1] I am indebted to my friend Dr. Homphill, for the reference to Rosenmüller.

translator of the original Aramaic of St. Matthew xvi. 18. He mistook the letter שׂ for the letter שׁ, and this trifling blunder in eyesight led to the introduction of the word *πύλαι*, which is foreign to the context. The phrase *πύλαι ᾅδου* is, as we have seen, a common Greek expression, while the expression *χειμῶνες ᾅδου*, or *πλημμυρίδαι ᾅδου* (cf. St. Luke vi. 48, *πλημμύρας δὲ γενομένης*) would not come so readily to the mind of a Greek. The translator, like many modern commentators upon St. Matthew xvi. 18 had forgotten the metaphor from the Sermon on the Mount, of a building so firmly established upon a rock that the stormy floods beat against it in vain.

But, whatever be the truth as to the Semitic original of St. Matthew xvi. 18, there can be little doubt that the Greek text is corrupt. *Πύλαι ᾅδου* spoils the metaphor, and does not make good sense. The meaning of the metaphor becomes apparent only when we refer back to St. Matthew vii. 24=St. Luke vi. 48 (the similitude of the House built upon a Rock) ; and then the passage is rendered consistent with itself if we suppose that *πύλαι* is a mistranslation of an Aramaic word which meant "waters" or "rivers" or "storms." Two suggestions have been made in this paper as to how misunderstanding may have been originated. Either of the words שער and אובל lend themselves to mistranslation, and it is suggested that one of them was found in the Semitic original of St. Matthew xvi. 18, the latter word having been actually misinterpreted "gate" by the Septuagint translator of Daniel viii. 2, and the former word having been misread שְׁעַר instead of שִׂעַר by several scribes and editors of Isaiah xxviii. 2.

One other point ought to be mentioned. Commentators are prone to say that the metaphor of the "keys of the kingdom of heaven" in St. Matthew xvi. 19 was suggested by the mention of "gates" in the preceding verse. But

it is not clear that these verses are connected. They are not conjoined by the word "and," which the *textus receptus* erroneously inserts. They are separate and distinct sayings: "Upon this Rock I will build my Church and the storms (gates) of Hell shall not prevail against it": "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," etc. There is a complete change of metaphor, and even if the word "gates" be retained, the two sayings are best treated as independent of each other. The Rock which is the foundation of the Church is a different image from that of the Steward who holds the keys of the kingdom.

JOHN DUBLIN.

ST. AUGUSTINE'S ADVICE TO AN ARMY OFFICER.

THREE letters in St. Augustine's correspondence [1] are addressed to Boniface, the military governor of Northern Africa, a member of the saint's circle who has not been rightly appreciated by church historians. The second of these (*ep.* clxxxix.) discusses the duties and spirit of a Christian soldier with something of the charm which breathes from Fénelon's letters to French officers of his acquaintance; it is a document which links the first quarter of the fifth century in African Christianity to the Gallican Christianity of the last quarter of the seventeenth. This letter was written in 418 A.D., when the *tribunus* was on active service in the province, putting down disorder with a firm hand and consolidating the Roman defence against the riotous elements of the population. Shortly before this St. Augustine had written a long [2] letter (*ep.* clxxxv.) to Boniface, pointing out

[1] Ed. A. Goldbacher in *CSEL* (xxxiii.).

[2] So long that in apologising at the end for its size the bishop suggests that extracts might be read to the general,

that his duty towards the recalcitrant faction of the Donatists was to "compel them to come in" to the mother Church. The commander, as a Christian, had asked for advice on this subject, and St. Augustine, in encouraging him to be firm not only as an orthodox Christian but as a responsible authority of the Empire, in forcibly suppressing schismatics, rejoices to find that he is alive to his military duties in the defence of religion ("uere hinc te apparet etiam de ipsa uirtute militari fidei seruire, quam habes in Christo"). This epistle is really a treatise; it forms one of the documents in the Donatist controversy, and is the earliest attempt to justify force in putting down heretics. The second letter is more of a personal communication. It was an impromptu message from the ecclesiastic to the general. Boniface, in the intervals of a busy and brilliant professional career, found time to think about his spiritual condition. He had asked his spiritual adviser for some information, and St. Augustine, who had already penned a reply, was only awaiting some opportunity of forwarding it, when his young friend, Faustus, arrived *en route* for the general's headquarters and told St. Augustine that Boniface wished a further message from the bishop on personal religion. Though he was very busy at the time he wrote a message, apologising for the haste with which it had to be composed. We do not know what became of the letter which had been prepared, but the special message is as follows:

"I can put it all in a brief word: 'Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and all thy soul and all thy strength,' and 'love thy neighbour as thyself'—for this is the word which the Lord on earth condensed into the gospel-saying: 'On these two commands hang all the law and the prophets.' Day by day, then, make progress in this love by praying, by acting rightly, so that by the help of Him who enjoined this love and gave it to you, it may be nourished and may grow,

until in its perfection it makes you perfect. For this is the love which, as the apostle says, is 'shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given to us'; this is the love of which he also says, it is 'the fulfilling of the law'; this is the love by which faith works, and of which once more he says, 'neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith working by love!'[1] All our holy fathers, patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, pleased God by this love; by it all true martyrs fought against the devil 'even unto blood' and conquered, because it neither abated nor failed in them; by this all good Christians (*fideles*) daily make progress, desiring to reach not a mortal but a heavenly Kingdom, not a temporal but an eternal inheritance, not gold and silver but the incorruptible riches of the angels, not any good things of this world, which one enjoys with apprehensions and which one cannot take with one at death,[2] but the vision of God, whose sweet delight (*cuius suauitas et delectatio*) excels all loveliness not only of earthly but even of heavenly bodies, excels all the beauty of souls however just and holy, excels all the glory of angels and powers in the world above, excels not only all that can be said but all that can be imagined of Himself. Nor let us despair of a promise so great —for truly great it is—, but rather let us believe we shall receive it; as the blessed apostle John says, 'We are God's sons, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: we know that, when He appears, we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is'."[3]

This might have been written, a modern reader may say, by any bishop to any Christian. But that is the point of it. The bishop realises that a soldier sometimes wants to be treated as a Christian simply; his uniform covers a human

[1] Augustine took ἐνεργουμενή in Gal. v. 6 as middle or active.
[2] An echo of 1 Tim. vi. 7.
[3] Cf. *Confessions*, xiii. 15.

heart with the common needs and temptations of men, and St. Augustine shows tact and insight in putting forward a definitely Christian counsel at the beginning of his letter. It was only an experienced bishop who could have begun a letter to a captain on these lines.

From this general message the writer now passes to a special counsel. He takes Boniface as a soldier, and reassures him on the compatibility of military service and the Christian life. Whether this point had been raised by the governor or whether it occurred to St. Augustine independently, we do not know ; in any case, the Christian bishop has no hesitation in declaring that a Christian man need not feel out of place in the army. As he puts it elsewhere, it is not the army (*militia*) but iniquity (*malitia*), which is the obstacle to a good life.

" Do not think that it is impossible for a man engaged in military service to please God. Among such men was the holy David, to whom the Lord gave so striking a testimony ; among such men also were many just persons of that age ; among such was the centurion, who said to the Lord, 'I am not worthy that Thou shouldst come under my roof ; but only say a word and my servant shall be healed ; for I, too, am a man set under authority, with soldiers under me, and I say to this one " Go," and he goes, and to this one, " Come," and he comes, and to my servant, " Do this," and he does it '—and of whom the Lord also said, ' Verily I say to you, I have not found such faith in Israel ' ; among such was the Cornelius to whom an angel was sent with the words, ' Cornelius, your alms are accepted and your prayers are heard,' directing him to send to the blessed apostle Peter and learn from him what he ought to do—and he sent a religious soldier to this apostle, asking him to come. Among such also were the soldiers who came for baptism to John, the holy forerunner of the Lord and the friend of the Bridegroom, of

whom the Lord Himself says, 'Among those born of women none has arisen greater than John the Baptist'; when they asked him what they were to do, he answered them, 'Do violence to no one, neither accuse any one falsely, be content with your pay.' When He told them that they ought to be content with their pay, He was far from forbidding them to bear arms." [1]

He had already used this illustration from Luke iii. 14, in a letter to another friend and officer, Marcellinus (*ep.* cxxxviii.), to justify the Christian practice of war in case of necessity. "If the Christian rule of life condemned all wars, the soldiers in the Gospel who inquired of salvation would rather be told to cast away their arms and withdraw absolutely from military service; whereas they were told, 'Do violence to no one, neither accuse any one falsely, be content with your pay'—the men who were bidden be content with their pay were certainly not prohibited from fighting!" In writing to Boniface, however, he adds:—"Theirs, indeed, is a higher place with God who forsake all such secular employments and serve Him with the strictest care for their moral purity (*summa continentia castitatis*). Still, 'every one has his own gift from God,' as the apostle says, 'one this and one that.' Thus [2] some, by their prayers

[1] Tertullian had tried to brush aside these New Testament proofs of a Christian's right to serve in the army, by quoting John xviii. 11; "Although soldiers did come to John and receive instructions on their duty, and though the centurion was a believer, still when the Lord afterwards disarmed Peter, he disbanded every soldier" (*De Idol.* 19). The idolatrous associations of the Roman army were fatal, in Tertullian's eyes. Clement of Alexandria, however, met the companion objection to Luke iii. 14 as a proof text for military service, by denying that it was only John, and not Jesus, who spoke; "He gives by John to soldiers the command, 'Be content with your pay'" (*Paed.* iii. 12, 91).

[2] A subdivision of labour, in which the ascetic and the non-ascetic forces of the church co-operate, had been already sketched by Origen in his homilies on Numbers, Joshua, and Judges; but the opponents were mainly heretics for Origen, and his subdivision was based on the admission that, in Bunyan's words, "all the King's subjects are not the king's champions."

for you, fight against the foes invisible, while you, by fighting on their behalf, strive against the visible barbarians."

The barbarians were very visible when St. Augustine penned these words, and Boniface had done good service against them, not only in Africa, but six years earlier at Marseilles, where he had routed the Visigoth leader, Ataulfus. St. Augustine has in mind, however, disturbers of the peace like the Circumcelliones or the Moorish raiders, who were a plague to North Africa with their guerilla warfare ; he recognises that in the present distress, when men have to fight with men in defence of civilisation, it is impracticable for all and sundry to enter the spiritual combat with Satan which is waged in a life of monastic and ascetic seclusion like that of Cassaciacum :—" Would that one faith were in all men ! For then the strife would be less, and the victory more easy over the devil and his angels. But as it must needs be in this world that the citizens of the kingdom of heaven are assailed by temptations among the erring and the impious, so that they may be disciplined, and, as it were, ' like gold in a furnace ,'[1] we ought not to crave prematurely a life in the sole company of the saints and the just—we must deserve to receive this life in due season."

Since Boniface has to fight, therefore, he must do so in a Christian spirit. This is defined in two special directions ; the soldier is warned against abusing his power, either with reference to the God who has bestowed such strength upon him, or with reference to the enemy whom he is enabled to defeat. The bishop evidently feels that the latter temptation is the stronger of the two, in his friend's case. He has more to say about the wrong of making war for war's sake or of needless severity to the vanquished, than about the danger of overweening pride. Boniface was not very likely

[1] *Wisdom of Solomon*, iii. 5–6.

to prove a Mezentius. But his sheer vigour might expose him to a tyrannous use of power.

"Well, then, when you are arming for the fray, bethink yourself of this first of all: your very strength of body is a gift of God. This thought will prevent you from using God's gift against God Himself. When a promise is made, it has to be kept even with the enemy against whom you are fighting;[1] how much more with the Friend for whom you fight!

"Peace ought to be your desire, war only your necessity (*pacem habere debet uoluntas, bellum necessitas*)—that God may free you from the necessity and preserve you in peace. Peace is never sought for the purpose of stirring up war, but war is waged in order to win peace. Hence even in warfare be a peacemaker, that you may, by conquering your assailants, bring them over to the advantages of peace; for 'blessed,' says the Lord, 'are the peacemakers: they shall be called God's children.' And if human peace is so sweet in view of man's temporal welfare, how much more sweet is peace divine in view of the angels' eternal welfare! So let it be necessity, not your desire, which slays the foe in fight. As forcible measures are dealt out to him who rebels and resists, so mercy is dealt out to the vanquished or the captive,[2] particularly when no fresh breach of peace is to be feared."

This is counsel for a soldier who is assumed to be active and energetic. Boniface's record, up to the time when St. Augustine wrote these words, was one which suggested that his temptations and dangers would be those of military suc-

[1] One of the creditable asides in this letter. If Augustine was mainly responsible for the justification of force in persecuting heretics, he at least did not regard non-Christians as opponents with whom it was not necessary to keep faith. Some mediaeval church-authorities fell far below this standard.

[2] An echo of the Vergilian *parcere subjectis et debellare superbos?*

cess. He had been a resolute and strong leader, and also a strict disciplinarian. As we shall see, this position was altered for the worse later on. Meanwhile, however, his spiritual adviser put in a further word for self-restraint. The temptations of women, wine, and plunder were specially besetting sins of a military career then as now. The bishop knew it was necessary to speak of sins as well as of sin :—

"Let your character and conduct be adorned by chastity in marriage, by temperance, and by self-control ; it is truly disgraceful when a man whom no man can conquer is overcome by lust, when wine subdues the man whom the sword cannot conquer. If worldly wealth is not yours, do not seek it in this world by evil courses ;[1] if it is yours, lay it up in heaven by good deeds. Its gain ought not to elate the manly, Christian soul, any more than its loss ought to prove a crushing blow. Let us rather think of what the Lord says : 'Where your treasure is, there shall your heart be also.' Certainly, when we hear the appeal, 'Let us lift up our heart,' we ought to answer honestly as you know we answer."

This allusion is taken from the ritual of public worship, where the congregation, in response to the voice of the priest ("sursum corda"), cried, 'habemus ad Dominum.' Augustine uses this response of the liturgy more than once ; e.g., in his letter (*ep.* cxxxi.) to Proba, he cites it in illustration of Luke xiii. 11–13 :—"Our Saviour who by His saving word raised up that woman who had been bowed for eighteen years —perhaps a type of spiritual weakness—came for this very purpose, that the Christian soul might not hear in vain the words, 'Lift up your heart,' and might not in vain reply, 'We do lift it up to the Lord.'"

The counsel on "pudicitia conjugalis" was not super-

[1] Afterwards (*ep.* ccxx. 6), the bishop had to remonstrate with Boniface for allowing his subordinates to loot and plunder at their will. But Olympiodorus (468) praised him personally for his superiority to such temptations : ἦν δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐράστης καὶ χρημάτων κρείττων.

fluous. Nine years later, St. Augustine had to write to Boniface and remonstrate with him on this very point. The bishop had been horrified to learn that the general had married a second wife, and to hear rumours that he had been guilty of sin with other women. When Boniface's wife had died, he had told St. Augustine in a fit of melancholy at Tubunae [1] that he thought of retiring from the world altogether into monastic seclusion. The bishop had remonstrated with him, pointing out with great good sense how much more useful he could be to the Church in putting down the barbarians. Boniface yielded,[2] but if he was not to be a monk he evidently vowed that he would at least remain a widower (*ep.* ccxx. 3: "accinctus balteo castissimae continentiae"). The mood soon passed, however. On a visit to Ravenna, or Spain, he married again, and married a wealthy Arian lady called Pelagia. True, he insisted upon her becoming a Catholic before he married her; but, as Augustine mournfully reminds him, he allowed his daughter to be baptized by Arians! Then, on the top of this, came the news that he was breaking the seventh commandment. But in 418 A.D. this relapse of the general was still in the future, and St. Augustine could honestly praise him for his moral character. The praise is hearty but not fulsome:—"I am, of course, well aware that you are attentive to all these duties; I am greatly rejoiced to hear this good account of you, and I congratulate you heartily in the Lord. So this letter may prove a mirror to let you see what you are, rather than a message to teach you what you ought to be. At the same time, press on to acquire by

[1] Alypius was with St. Augustine at this interview.

[2] Tillemont (*Mémoires pour servir*, xiii. 715) actually is disposed to blame the two Christian advisers for what happened. "Deux des plus grands Saints aient manqué de lumière en une occasion si importante, et aient esté innocemment les ministres de la perte de Boniface et de la descente des Vandales dans l'Afrique."

prayer and effort whatever you may discover either from this letter or from Scripture that you are still deficient in as regards a good life; and thank God, the fountain of goodness, for all you possess, since you possess it from Him; in all your good deeds give Him the glory and practise humility, for, as it is written, 'Every good gift and perfect boon is from above, coming down from the Father of lights.' But whatever your advance in love to God and to your neighbour, and in true piety, never imagine that, as long as you are in this life, you are free from sin; for on this we read in holy Scripture, 'Is not man's life on earth (*tentatio*) temptation?'[1] Hence, as you must pray, so long as you are here in the body, 'Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors,' according to the Lord's teaching, remember the duty of instant forgiveness, if any one sins against you and asks your pardon,—so that you may be able to pray sincerely and have power to ask pardon for your own sins.

"My dear friend, I have written this in some haste, driven by the urgency of the bearer to avoid delay. Still I am thankful to God that I have not failed in some degree to comply with your pious wishes. May God's mercy ever protect you, my noble sir, my justly distinguished and honourable son."

Nearly ten years later, this strong and pious captain received another message from his friend, couched in much less admiring and hopeful terms. During the interval things had gone badly with Boniface, and the third letter is a manly straight talk to him upon his disappointing career. The bishop makes an ultra-ascetic mistake; he advises the general to secure his wife's consent to suspend all conjugal relations. But apart from this morbid touch the letter is

[1] Job vii. 1, a text which St. Augustine was fond of quoting; the LXX rendering πειρατήριον, which becomes "militia" in the Vulgate, is turned into "tentatio" by the bishop.

charged with healthy counsel. St. Augustine takes his friend to task for failing not only as a Christian but as a soldier. Who could have imagined that a man who had been so active as a *tribunus* would lose his nerve in the higher military position of *comes Africae*, pusillanimously allowing the province to be overrun by barbarian hordes? The bishop voices not only his own but the public regret over Boniface's supine inaction, and hints that the general's "wait and see" policy of acting purely on the defensive against the Mauritanian freebooters was disastrous, not only to his own reputation, but to the interest of the Empire. He further connects this military inefficiency with the deterioration of his friend's personal character. Whether this was true or not, we have no means of deciding. At any rate, if he had fallen off as a soldier, it was not because he had refused to become a monk and married again. The fact was that Boniface's political position had become extremely difficult during the past ten years. Since receiving Augustine's second letter, he had been disappointed of a command (422 A.D.) against the Vandals in Spain, and had crossed back to Africa where as *tribunus* he had done yeoman service against the mountain-raiders. His position was now one of semi-independence, which was more or less irregular constitutionally, and the jealousy of his powerful rival, Aetius, seems to have complicated the situation; he was rewarded eventually for his adhesion to the Empress Placidia by the title and rank of *comes Africae*, but local troubles and private grievances forced him into opposition to the court of Ravenna, and he had to defend himself against the imperial forces. It was at this period that St. Augustine ventured to write his third letter. Then came the invasion of the Vandals. Whether Pelagia belonged to the royal family of the Vandals, as Baronius suggests, or whether the story of Procopius that Boniface invited the Vandals to co-operate with him is

entirely misleading,[1] the tragic result was that, under Gaiseric they pressed Boniface hard from 429 onwards. The rest of his career lies in the broad light of history, his defence of Hippo Regius against the invaders, his withdrawal from Africa, and his final death from wounds said to have been received in single combat with Aetius in 432 A.D.

"There is much," as Freeman claims, "in the character and history of Boniface which clothes all that touches him with deep interest." He "appears as one of the many men whose early days were their best." Perhaps during the close intercourse which he and St. Augustine enjoyed for the last three months of the bishop's life in the besieged fort of Hippo Regius, Boniface regained something of the piety which he seems to have lost. Charity prompts us to hope that he did, and history does not veto this view. It would be pleasant to think that this distinguished soldier's goodness was not a morning-cloud, and that the last three stormy years of his career witnessed a personal revival of the faith which had marked his earlier record.

JAMES MOFFATT.

[1] Freeman's rejection of the Procopian legend (*Western Europe in the Fifth Century*, pp. 305–370) is discussed by Hodgkin (*Italy and Her Invaders*, second edition, vol. i. pp. 889–898), who thinks that upon the whole the account of Procopius "has still a reasonable claim to be accepted as history."

THE GREEK TESTAMENT OF ERASMUS.

How did it happen that, whereas the printing of the Hebrew Scriptures began as early as 1477, and the complete Old Testament appeared in 1488, no edition of the Greek New Testament was published until 1516? No complete answer to this question has yet been given. We must remember, however, in the first place, that all the Hebrew editions down to 1516 were prepared by orthodox Jews for their co-religionists, and were printed at Hebrew presses in Italy, Spain or Portugal, apparently by the help of wealthy Jews and without any idea of obtaining profits from sales in the open book-market. Again, Hebrew was still the language of religion to all educated Jews, and the sacred rolls had never ceased to be read in their synagogue-worship. It was otherwise with Greek, in spite of the Hellenic revival which originated in Italy nearly a hundred years before the invention of printing. For the "Transalpine Renaissance" did not begin until the second half of the fifteenth century, and on to its close few students of Western Europe possessed any real knowledge of Greek. Moreover, the comparative scarcity or inaccessibility of MSS. prevented scholars from habitually studying the New Testament in its original language. On the other hand, the Latin Vulgate had been the Bible of Western Christendom for a thousand years, and MSS. of this version abounded. The early printers were eager enough in reproducing the Latin Scriptures. The first considerable piece of printing executed in Europe was a Latin Bible, and at least a hundred editions of the same book had appeared before the end of the fifteenth century. It is true that a liturgical edition in Greek and Latin of the Psalter, with appended Canticles, was printed at Milan in 1481; and this was followed by

two similar Psalters, in Greek only, issued at Venice in 1486 and 1497 (?). The printer of the last edition, which bears no date, was the celebrated Aldus Manutius, who, from his intense devotion to Greek letters, might have been expected to produce a Greek Bible, or at least a New Testament. Indeed, he actually did conceive the design of a polyglot Bible: in the preface to his Greek Psalter he promised a triglot Old Testament; and in a letter dated July, 1501, he wrote: "*Vetus et nouum Instrumentum græce, latine, et hebraice nondum impressi, sed parturio*"; but the work never came to birth, and only one specimen leaf survives. When all has been said, however, it remains somewhat of a mystery why scholars, who already possessed editions of more than a dozen of the Greek classics, had to wait until 1516 before they could obtain the Greek Testament in printed form.

It was in the spring of that year—exactly four centuries ago—that the first published edition of the Greek Testament issued from the press of John Froben at Basle. The text was accompanied by a fresh Latin translation and Latin notes. Desiderius Erasmus, the editor and author, was then in his fiftieth year, and had already won European fame as a scholar. Yet few of those who were concerned in the production of the volume, or welcomed its appearance, can have foreseen what a profound influence it was destined to exert on the religious movements of the age.

With the help of the Oxford edition of Erasmus' Letters,[1]

[1] *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami denuo recognitum et auctum per P.S. Allen.* . . . The first three volumes of this monumental edition, containing the Letters down to June, 1519, have already been published by the Clarendon Press. Mr. Allen has garnered some fruits of his researches into a volume entitled *The Age of Erasmus*. Valuable information may also be gleaned from the late Mr. F. M. Nichols' English translations of Erasmus' Letters, with an illuminating commentary: of this work two volumes have appeared, and a third is in the press.

and Mr. P. S. Allen's learned notes thereon, it is possible to give a detailed account of the inception, preparation and completion of this epoch-making book. When Erasmus was at Oxford, in 1499, it is commonly supposed that he used his time to study Greek; "and Gibbon has lent his authority to the statement that he learned Greek at Oxford and taught it at Cambridge." The truth seems to be that he possessed a mere smattering of Greek until 1500, when he set himself seriously to learn it at Paris. Hampered by lack of money and books and unable to engage a good teacher, he took many years of toil to acquire a sufficient knowledge of the language. The following extracts from his letters [1] show with what zeal he applied himself to the task, and what was the goal he had in view. "It is incredible how my heart burns to . . . attain some moderate capacity in Greek. I should then devote myself entirely to the study of sacred literature, as for some time I have longed to do." "If there is any fresh Greek to be bought, I had rather pawn my coat than not get it, especially if it is something Christian, as the Psalms in Greek or the Gospels." "I see it is the merest madness to touch with the little finger that principal part of theology, which treats of the divine mysteries, without being furnished with the apparatus of Greek." Again, writing about December, 1504, to his English friend John Colet, who perhaps more than any other man had directed his mind to these studies, he says: "I cannot tell you, most excellent Colet, how intensely I long to devote myself to sacred literature, and how disgusted I am with every hindrance and delay." These he hoped soon to overcome. "I shall then address myself in freedom and with my whole heart to divine studies, in which I mean to spend the remainder of my life. Yet

[1] These and other citations are taken from Mr .Nichols' book.

three years ago I did venture to write something on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and finished with a single effort some four rolls, which I should have continued, if I had not been hindered, my principal hindrance being my constant want of Greek. Consequently for about three years I have been entirely taken up with the study of that language, and I think I have not altogether thrown my labour away."

Erasmus never completed this commentary on the Pauline Epistles, at least in the form originally planned, but soon after writing the above letter to Colet he accomplished a useful piece of work on the New Testament. In the summer of 1504 he had discovered in the library of the Præmonstratensian Abbey of Parc, just outside Louvain, a manuscript volume of *Annotationes* on the New Testament, compiled by Lorenzo Valla, an Italian writer of the first half of the fifteenth century. These Annotations, based on a comparison of the Latin Vulgate version with the original Greek, suggested to Erasmus a promising line of study. He carried the MS. back with him to Paris, and showed it to his host, Christopher Fisher, who persuaded him to publish it. Fisher was an Englishman, in the service of the Papal Court, with whom Erasmus lodged on returning to Paris in the autumn of 1504; later, he was employed in Rome, and in April, 1510, being then Secretary and Clerk of the Sacred College, he was appointed to carry the Golden Rose to Henry VIII. Valla's Annotations appeared at Paris in the spring of 1505, having been printed by Josse Bade (Jodocus Badius Ascensius), who became a warm friend of Erasmus. The editor was aware that the book was by no means likely to receive universal approbation. To question the accuracy of the Vulgate was a dangerous proceeding, and the opinions of a mere scholar without theological training might provoke the jealousy of professed

theologians. In the dedicatory epistle addressed to Fisher, Erasmus anticipated these objections, and endeavoured with some spirit to answer them.

Immediately afterwards, Erasmus paid his second visit to England. There, perhaps at the instigation of Colet, lately appointed Dean of St. Paul's, and certainly with his help—for Colet lent him Latin MSS. from the Chapter Library—he began to make his original Latin translation of the New Testament, which he appears to have completed in 1506. There still exists a MS., which contains Erasmus' version of the New Testament, except the Acts and Revelation, with the Vulgate in a parallel column, written in the years 1506 and 1509, by Peter Meghen, the "one-eyed Brabantine," whom Colet employed as copyist and private letter-carrier. This MS., which was prepared for presentation to Colet's father, Sir Henry Colet, Lord Mayor of London, survives in three portions. One, comprising SS. Matthew and Mark's Gospels, with a colophon dated May 8, 1509, is in the University Library, Cambridge. The second, containing the two other Gospels, dated September 7, 1509, is in the British Museum; while the third portion, giving the Epistles, dated October, 1506, is preserved in the same library. Another MS. copy of Erasmus' version, interlined with the Vulgate, is in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. This contains the whole of the New Testament, including the Acts and Revelation, and agrees very closely with the other MS. Though undated, it "may probably be assigned to the same period." In the case of Colet's MS., it is not easy to account for the fact that the scribe completed the Gospels three years after the Epistles. But Mr. Allen is inclined, on the whole, "to suppose that the interval was due to causes connected with Meghen, and that Erasmus had finished his work before he left England in 1506."

We cannot say exactly when Erasmus first decided to prepare an edition of the Greek text; but perhaps it was in 1512 or 1513, during his third period of residence in England, when we know that he was actively engaged in examining the text. Thus, writing to a correspondent in the autumn of 1512, he says: "I shall finish the correction of the New Testament." And in a letter to Colet, which may be assigned to the summer of 1513, he informs his friend: "I have done the collation of the New Testament." On his first visit to Basle in August, 1514, he discussed the question of publication with Froben, who had recently lost his partner, John Amorbach. Their negotiations seem to have been broken off for a time—possibly because Erasmus was hoping to produce the book in Italy. Six years earlier, during his sojourn in Venice, he had become intimate with Aldus and the "New Academy." It was Aldus who printed his *Adagiorum Chiliades* in 1508; and Erasmus may have wished him also to publish his Greek Testament. Or perhaps he had in mind some printer at Rome. However, negotiations with Froben were renewed, through a mutual friend, Beatus Rhenanus, in April, 1515, when Erasmus was once more in England, and were concluded on his return to Basle in the summer of that year. We find on September 11 Nicholas Gerbell still making suggestions as to the form in which the book should be produced. Among other advice, he recommended that the Greek text should be printed separately; and it is interesting to note that in 1521 Gerbell edited for Thomas Anshelm, at Hagenau, the earliest edition of the Greek Testament issued in a size smaller than folio, and giving the bare text. Before the end of September, however, the printing had seriously begun; and with two presses engaged it made such rapid progress that, in spite of many difficulties, the last sheets were completed early in the following March,

the colophon at the end of the Annotations being dated March 1, 1516.

The letterpress on the title-page runs as follows : " Nouum Instrumentum omne, diligenter ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum et emendatum, non solum ad græcam ueritatem, uerumetiam ad multorum utriusque linguæ codicum, eorumque ueterum simul et emendatorum fidem, postremo ad probatissimorum autorum citationem, emendationem et interpretationem, præcipue, Origenis, Chrysostomi, Cyrilli, Vulgarij, Hieronymi, Cypriani, Ambrosij, Hilarij, Augustini, una cum Annotationibus, quæ lectorem doceant, quid qua ratione mutatum sit. Quisquis igitur amas ueram Theologiam, lege, cognosce, ac deinde iudica. Neque statim offendere, si quid mutatum offenderis, sed expende, num in melius mutatum sit. Apud inclytam Germaniæ Basilæam. Cum priuilegio Maximiliani Cæsaris Augusti, ne quis alius in sacra Romani imperii ditione, intra quatuor annos excudat, aut alibi excusum importet."

The preliminary matter includes a dedicatory epistle to Leo X. From Erasmus' correspondence we gather that he originally intended to inscribe the book to his patron, William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, whom indeed he eulogises in this dedication ; or else to his friend John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. In dedicating his work by permission to the Pope, he obtained for it the highest ecclesiastical sanction, and probably disarmed much latent criticism. The epistle is followed by a remarkable exhortation (" Paraclesis ") to the reader : some sentences from this, cited on the back of the title to Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament, have become familiar to many students. In addition, there are two pieces, entitled " Methodus " and " Apologia," in which the editor explains the plan and scope of his work. The Greek text and the Latin translation are printed in parallel columns, and occupy over 550

pages ; while the Annotations, which are added in an appendix, fill about 400 pages. Thus within six months a folio volume of nearly 1,000 pages was printed, and even partly written—for the editor greatly enlarged his Annotations while they were passing through the press.

The printer's eager haste was probably due to his wish to have the work ready for the spring book-fair at Frankfort. But an additional motive has been suggested. If we may assume that Froben had just received tidings of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, which was then being prepared under the direction of Cardinal Ximenes at Alcalá in Spain, he would naturally seek to forestall the rival production. The fifth volume of that Bible, containing the Greek Text of the New Testament side by side with the Latin Vulgate, had actually been printed in 1514; but the other volumes were not completed until 1517, and owing to various causes the Polyglot did not pass into circulation before 1522. One cause may have been the death of the Cardinal in 1517; another, the exclusive "privilege" for four years secured by Froben for Erasmus' edition (see the title cited above). A well-known story tells how, when copies of Erasmus' Testament reached Spain, Stunica (Diego Lopez de Zuñiga), whom Ximenes had employed as his editor, spoke of it with disparagement. But the great Cardinal, though his own edition had been anticipated, replied with true nobility of spirit: "I would that all might thus prophesy; produce what is better, if thou canst; do not condemn the industry of another."

The Testament was received generally with approval and even enthusiasm. It is true that in some quarters it encountered hostile critics, conservative theologians uniting with the friars to condemn it. Eighteen months earlier Erasmus had been warned of such opposition. The theologians of Louvain had taken alarm at his literary projects,

and instigated Martin van Dorp, with whom Erasmus was on friendly terms, to write him a letter of remonstrance. Though this was composed about September, 1514, Erasmus did not see a copy until many months later, when he made a long formal reply (May, 1515). In a letter addressed to Leo X in August, 1516, he explained that he had no ill-will against the Latin Vulgate: "By this labour we do not intend to tear up the old and commonly accepted edition, but to emend it in some places where it is corrupt, and to make it clear where it is obscure." No defence of his work, however, was needed at Rome, where it was regarded with favour. A much more elaborate apology, obviously intended for circulation at Cambridge, and subsequent publication, fills a long letter addressed about the same date to Henry Bullock, a fellow of Queens' College, who in 1525–6 became Vice-Chancellor of the University.

Indeed, Erasmus' correspondence at this period teems with allusions to his Greek Testament. In writing to Thomas More, John Fisher and other English friends, he refers with pardonable pride to its reception, and to the compliments showered upon him by ecclesiastical dignitaries, like the Bishop of Basle and the Prior of Freiburg, and by well-known scholars. And the letters he received must have caused him much gratification. Colet wrote from London: "Your new edition is bought with avidity, and read everywhere here. There are many that approve and admire your studies, others that disapprove and find fault. . . . For my part I am so devoted to your studies and so charmed with your new edition, that it produces in me a variety of emotions. At one moment I am full of sorrow that I have not learned Greek, without which we are nothing; at another I rejoice in that light which is emitted by the rays of your genius. . . . If you will let me do so, I shall put myself at your side, and show myself your disciple by learning Greek, though I

am almost an old man." Bullock conveyed a greeting from Cambridge: "People here are hard at work upon Greek, and earnestly hope for your arrival. The same set are much delighted with your publication of the New Testament. Good Heavens, how elegant it is, how clever, how charming to every person of sound taste, and how much required!" John Watson, another Cambridge friend, testified: "By your correction of the New Testament accompanied by your notes you have thrown a marvellous light on Christ, and deserved well of all His zealous followers." Perhaps the most significant message came from Cologne, sent by Hermann, Count of Neuenahr: "Your New Testament has my approval, as it has that of all good men. Would that the whole Bible, translated in the same way, were in our hands! Farewell to the malevolent, the money-lovers, the sophists, who are pleased with nothing but the rubbish that they produce themselves, men of a preposterous, sordid and illiberal spirit! Away with all the greedy doctors, who care only for earning bread, and not for the reformation of manners, consuming in every tavern the sweat of the poor!" In these words we hear ominous mutterings of the coming storm.

We have no clue as to the Greek MS. or MSS. used by Erasmus in making his Latin translation (1505–6); but we know from his own statement in the *Apologia* prefixed to the Greek Testament that in his collation of the text in England (1512–3) he used four MSS. One of these has been identified with that now known from its present home as the "Leicester Codex." This late MS. (Evan. 69) has attracted the interest of modern scholars. Some years ago Dr. J. R. Harris traced its ownership back to Richard Brinkley, a Cambridge Franciscan, early in the sixteenth century. And Dr. M. R. James has recently proved that it was written, probably at Cambridge and after 1472, by

Emmanuel of Constantinople, a Greek scribe formerly employed by George Neville, Archbishop of York. At Basle Erasmus used five other MSS., which are now all in the University Library. He had expected to find there some good MS. which he could give into the hands of the printer as "copy." Instead, he was obliged to work over one of the MSS., which still bears his own corrections and the red chalk-marks of the compositor. Then he discovered that the two press-correctors, Gerbell and Œcolampadius (John Hussgen), were sometimes deserting his text for that of another of the Basle MSS. So in the end Erasmus had to spend much time in supervising the printing, and in a letter to William Latimer, a distinguished Oxford scholar, he grumbles about this: "I was disappointed to find that a great part of my own time had to be given up to preparing copy for the press and correcting proofs, although two capable persons had been engaged for that purpose at a considerable cost." In those days an author of consequence considered it outside his province, if not beneath his dignity, to correct his own proof-sheets or to take any active interest in his book while it was passing through the press.

The five Basle MSS. are those known to students as Evan. 1 (= Act. 1, Paul. 1), Evan. 2, Act. 2 (= Paul. 2), and Act. 4 (= Paul. 4). Of these, Evan. 2 (15th cent.) was principally used for the Gospels, and Act. 2 (13th or 14th cent.) for the Acts and Epistles: Evan. 1, a better class MS. of the 11th century was only occasionally followed.[1] Between them they include all the books of the New Testament, except the Revelation. For that book Erasmus had to rely on another MS. (Apoc. 1: 12th cent.) borrowed

[1] See Sir F. G. Kenyon's *Handbook to the Textua Criticism of the New Testament*, p. 228.

from his friend John Reuchlin, the famous Hebrew scholar. This lacked the last five or six verses, but Erasmus boldly supplied the *lacuna* by retranslating the Vulgate into Greek. It is but fair, however, to mention that in his Annotations he frankly avows his act. Some words of this retranslation, for which no MS. authority can be found, still linger in editions of the "Textus Receptus." The actual MS. lent by Reuchlin was rediscovered in 1861 by Franz Delitzsch in a library at Mayhingen in Bavaria.

Erasmus himself confessed that his first edition had been "hurried out headlong" ("præcipitatum verius quam editum"). So conscious was he of its blemishes that he promptly began to prepare a new edition. In June, 1516, he confided this secret to Latimer, asking for his help and adding a word of caution: "But for the printer's sake, do not let anybody have an inkling of this; if the buyers caught scent of it, his copies might rest on his shelves!" In this second edition, published three years later (March, 1519), Erasmus corrected many of the misprints which had disfigured the first, but made comparatively few alterations in the Greek text. In the title he changed "Nouum Instrumentum" to the familiar "Nouum Testamentum," and set right the blunder "Vulgarii" for "Theophylacti." (Theophylact was Archbishop of Okhrida in Bulgaria.) The more important changes appeared in the Latin translation. This, before it was first printed in 1516, Erasmus had considerably modified, so as to make it differ less markedly from the Vulgate. But he now restored it to its original form, reproducing, according to Mr. Allen, the text of Colet's MS. (1506–9) with minute accuracy. In the first verse of St. John's Gospel he replaced the time-honoured "Verbum" of the Vulgate by his own rendering "Sermo," a change which stirred up a hornets' nest of criticism. The first two editions together consisted of 3,300 copies.

Further revisions produced during the editor's lifetime followed in February, 1522, in March, 1527, and in March, 1535. All were printed at the Froben press at Basle. Though from time to time during these years Erasmus consulted fresh Greek and Latin MSS., yet the actual alterations which he made in his Greek text appear to be inconsiderable. His third edition, however, introduced the passage relating to the Three Heavenly Witnesses (the "comma Johanneum": see 1 John v. 7, 8). In controversy with Stunica and Edward Lee (afterwards Archbishop of York) he had promised to insert the words if they could be discovered in any extant Greek MS. They were found in a late MS., now known as "Codex Montfortianus" (Evan. 61) and preserved at Dublin. This MS. has small critical value; and, according to Dr. J. R. Harris, the "comma" had perhaps been interpolated from the Vulgate by its earliest known possessor, a Franciscan named Froy. Erasmus, however, kept his word and inserted the passage. He states in 1527 that he had ascertained at Rome, through Paul Bombasius, that a very old Vatican MS.—probably Codex Vaticanus itself—lacked the "comma." The fourth edition is distinguished by the inclusion of the Vulgate, in a third column, for convenience of reference. In this edition, also, he adopted certain readings given in the Complutensian Polyglot. His fifth edition differs very slightly from the fourth as regards the Greek.

It is a matter of regret that Erasmus did not base his Greek text on a wider collation, and that he did not employ earlier and better MSS. But the science of textual criticism was then in its infancy. As an example of the limitations of Erasmus' knowledge may be cited his estimate of the MS. of Revelation which he borrowed from Reuchlin. He described it as being so old that it might have been written in the Apostolic age; whereas modern scholars attribute

it to the twelfth century. In critical value Erasmus' text is inferior to the Complutensian ; yet being the first in the field, and appearing in more convenient form, it obtained a much wider circulation, and exercised a far greater influence than its rival. As Professor E. Reuss [1] has demonstrated, its influence proved almost overwhelming. Erasmus' text became the basis of that of Stephanus. From Stephanus' text, as represented in the great " Editio Regia " of 1550, was substantially derived that common text which Beza and the Elzevirs helped to stereotype ; until, gaining the name of " Textus Receptus," it was multiplied in hundreds of editions.

In attempting to estimate the immediate effect of Erasmus' Testament on the religious life of his day, we must inquire how the great humanist's Biblical work was related to his secular studies. The late Professor R. C. Jebb, in a lecture on Erasmus delivered at Cambridge in 1890, maintained that they were connected by a closer tie than might at first sight appear. " His principal concern was always with literature as such ; he was, moreover, a practical moralist, anxious to aid in correcting the evils of his time : but he was not distinctively a theologian ; and towards dogmatic theology, in particular, he had little inclination. Now, in pursuing his paramount aim—to make the world better by the humanising influences of literature—the enemy with which he had to do battle was the scholastic philosophy . . . the dreary wilderness of pedantry that had hitherto passed for knowledge. And the scholastic philosophy was securely entrenched behind the scholastic theology. The weapons of that theology were Biblical texts, isolated from their context, and artificially interpreted : the one way to disarm it was to make men know what the Bible really said and meant. Therefore Erasmus

[1] See his *Bibliotheca Noui Testamenti Græci. . . .* Brunswick, 1872.

felt that his first duty, both as a moralist and as a man of letters, was to promote a knowledge of the Bible. He was not a Hebrew scholar, and could do nothing at first hand with the Old Testament ; that province was left to Reuchlin. But in 1516 he published the Greek Testament—the first edition which had appeared." By this signal service Erasmus provided those scholars who could read Greek with an edition of the original text in a portable shape. Further, as we have seen, he encouraged others to learn Greek. His close Latin version, given side by side with the Greek, facilitated their task. In some ways this version proved more immediately useful than the printed Greek text, since Erasmus thus supplied all educated men with a more exact rendering than the Vulgate, which had held the field for over a thousand years. Subsequently his Latin version had an immense vogue, and was frequently reprinted apart from the Greek. In England it accompanied Tindale's English version in four diglot Testaments issued between 1538 and 1550.

The Annotations exhibit Erasmus as a commentator. He appealed, as Professor Jebb pointed out, from the mediæval expositors, the schoolmen, to the primitive interpreters, the Fathers of the early Church, who stood nearer to the sacred documents alike in time and spirit. Thus, in the title to his Greek Testament cited above, he enumerates those Greek and Latin Fathers whose quotations from Scripture and commentaries he had consulted in compiling his book. Many of their works he subsequently translated or edited. In his own Annotations, which were greatly expanded in the later editions, he freely applies the teaching of Christ and His apostles to the questions of the day, and does not hesitate to attack ecclesiastical and other abuses, often with extraordinary vigour of language.

Erasmus pursued this practical object of plain exposition

in his series of Latin "Paraphrases" on all the books of the New Testament except the Revelation. "These were intended to exhibit the substance and thought of the several books in a more modern form, and so to bring them home more directly to the ordinary reader's mind." An English version of the "Paraphrases" appeared in 1549, translated by Nicholas Udall, Miles Coverdale, and others, including Princess (afterwards Queen) Mary. Injunctions issued by Edward VI. ordered that every parish church in the country should provide a copy for public use. And contemporary churchwardens' accounts refer to the purchase of the book; e.g., in those of Wigtoft, Lincolnshire, we read:

"1549. It. paid for the Paraphrases of Erasmus, 7*s.*
It. paid for a chain for the Paraphrases, 4*d.*"

By such methods as these—by text, translation, commentary and paraphrase—Erasmus strove to lead men to study the Bible, and thus helped to hasten the coming of the great upheaval known as the Reformation.

In the noble exhortation prefixed to his Greek Testament Erasmus complains that, while the disciples of every other philosophy derive it from the fountain-head, the Christian doctrine alone is not studied at its source. He would like to see the Scriptures translated into every tongue, and put into the hands of all. "I long," he says, "that the husbandman should sing them to himself as he follows the plough, that the weaver should hum them to the tune of his shuttle, that the traveller should beguile with them the weariness of his journey." Before the end of the sixteenth century his wish had begun to be fulfilled. Of the many translations of the New Testament in various European languages published during that century, some—like Luther's German version and Tindale's English version—were rendered from his Greek text, while others were influenced directly or indirectly by his labours. But the impulse reached

still further. A great descendant of one of those translations—the English Authorised Version—has itself given birth to countless missionary versions, through which the "Heaven-sweet Evangel" sounds to remote races of whom Erasmus never heard. In all these he, being dead, yet speaks to the world.

Mr. Allen quotes a touching account of Erasmus' dying hours, written perhaps on the eve of his death (July 12, 1536) by one of the Frobens, possibly his godson and namesake Erasmius. His last words were spoken in his native Dutch: "Liever Got." We may take for his epitaph his own description of the devout and life-long student of Holy Writ: "Felix ille quem in hisce litteris meditantem mors occupat."

H. F. Moule.

THE DIVORCE EXCEPTION IN ST. MATTHEW.

THE question of the genuineness of the Matthæan *πάρεκτος λόγου πορνείας* (v. 32) and *μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ* (xix. 9) as exceptions to the general rule of the indissolubility of marriage has received very full discussion from most aspects. I do not propose in this paper to reopen the general question, though I may perhaps be allowed to record my opinion that on the whole [1] recent discussion creates a presumption against the view that the words emanate from our Lord Himself. What I wish to debate is a point which has figured very little in recent controversy, but is, I believe, of considerable importance, viz., the use in both these passages of the unexpected word *πορνεία* instead of *μοιχεία*.

The view that *πορνεία* cannot mean "adultery" was first, I believe, put forward by Döllinger in his *First Age of the Church*. It was subsequently maintained by Liddon and controverted at some length by Conington in the *Contemporary Review* of 1869. Since then, so far as I can find, the point has not been seriously discussed: not, however, I venture to think, because Conington had disposed of his opponents. His arguments are good against the conclusion which Döllinger drew, but weak on the philological side;

[1] Though much of the reasoning in recent commentaries (Allen, Plummer, McNeile) seems to me unsound. Our Lord, we are told, is made by St. Matthew to take part in Rabbinic controversies and identify Himself with the Shammaite school. But why not, if the Shammaites were right? The argument begs the question. Again it is said that after rejecting the Mosaic for the Primal law, he adopts the Shammaite interpretation of the Mosaic law. But was the Shammaite interpretation (however right their ethical rule) a tenable one? (*v.* Driver on Deut. xxiv. 1). If not, and if our Lord upholds the Shammaite rule, but bases it on Genesis rather than Deuteronomy, He shows sound exegesis. The two sound arguments seem to me (1) that Mark and Luke are both qualitatively and quantitatively better evidence than Matthew; (2) that the astonishment of the disciples at hearing Him adopt the Shammaite view is hardly intelligible.

and indeed he admitted that Döllinger had a certain philological advantage.

That we should certainly have expected *μοιχεία* in our two passages, every one, I suppose, would admit. It is the legal and accepted name for the crime and both in the Old and New Testaments wherever formal and judicial reference is made to it, this word only is used. *Πορνεία* is, of course, as applied to a woman, properly the conduct of a *πόρνη*, and implies promiscuity and prostitution. It is only by an extension of meaning that it embraces the cases when a single but illicit connexion is formed by an unmarried woman.[1] It is perhaps because of this extension that commentators have been apt to assume the further extension to the unchastity of the married. But this further extension does not seem to me *prima facie* easy or natural.

Adultery in ancient society, perhaps in all phases of society, is regarded not primarily as unchastity, but as an offence against the rights of the husband and as involving the destruction and confusion of the family and its succession. Viewed in this light *πορνεία* does not merely differ from *μοιχεία*: it is vitally opposed to it. And it is perhaps not too much to say that ancient society regarded the one as a useful safeguard against the other.

All this of course does not prevent the fact that *μοιχεία* may sometimes be spoken of as *πορνεία* with the meaning that it adds the guilt of the latter to the former. The adulteress, of course, may easily be a *πόρνη* in actual fact, and rhetorically and opprobriously she may in any case be represented as one, with the meaning that she is likely to

[1] As perhaps in 1 Cor. v. 1. It is interesting to note that Conington largely relied on this case to show that *πορνεία* was used for *μοιχεία*. He took for granted that *ὁ ἀδικηθείς*, 2 Cor. vii. 12, was the father, who was therefore alive. Probably the majority of scholars to-day would deny this and hardly any would regard it as a certainty.

become one. It is not surprising, therefore, that in three passages in the LXX we find *πορνεία* or *πορνεύω* used of a married woman. Of these Amos vii. 17, *ἡ γυνή σου πορνεύσει ἐν τῇ πόλει*, and Hosea ii. 5, *ἐξεπόρνευσεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῶν*, require no comment. The third, Sirach xxiii. 23, where it is said of an adulteress that besides disobeying the law of God and trespassing against her husband *πορνείᾳ ἐμοίχευθη* is perhaps stronger. But does it mean more

Anyhow all these passages seem to me of little value than that she has reduced herself to the level of the *πόρνη*?

towards proving that a substitution of the terms could legitimately be made in these passages of St. Matthew. Our Lord is there surely speaking as the divine legislator of His Church, and we naturally expect that He should use, or be represented as using, precise and definite language. And this word is not merely badly adapted for the meaning which it has to bear; it might also so easily have other meanings. It might easily be taken to mean that divorce was only allowable if the adulteress by promiscuous misconduct had earned the name of *πόρνη*, or if, though no adulteress, she had been guilty before marriage. Whether these interpretations are tenable in the sense that we can suppose either our Lord or the evangelist to have intended either of them, may be doubtful. But that is not here to the point. They are possible interpretations of the word, in themselves more natural than "adultery." A careful writer, as I take "Matthew" to be, does not in a passage where he requires to be precise and definite and where a clear, obvious, and unambiguous word is available, risk the use of a word which is capable of other meanings, even though those meanings are not to the thoughtful probable. He remembers that he does not write for the thoughtful only. Finally, it should be noted that in the

only other place where Matthew uses the word he couples it with, and presumably distinguishes it from, *μοιχεία* (xv. 19).

A few words must be given to the tenability (I mean for the scholar) of these other possible meanings of the word. We have seen that it might mean (1) unchastity before marriage; (2) unchastity after marriage carried to the extent of promiscuity. To these we should perhaps add a third—unchastity either before or after marriage, the word in this case being used in preference to *μοιχεία* to indicate that both constituted a ground for divorce. I am not sure, however, that this is philologically quite satisfactory, for the writer could have expressed his meaning by *πορνεία ἢ μοιχεία*.

The first of these was actually held by Döllinger and Liddon, who believed that our Lord was making a special concession to the prejudices of Jewish Christians, who held that the virginity of the wife was an essential element in the marriage contract and that its absence *ipso facto* annulled the contract. I confess that this suggestion seems to me impossible. I cannot imagine our Lord, especially in the Sermon on the Mount, making a temporary concession to Judaism which was not to hold for His Church. And it is hardly possible, I think, that Matthew should have attributed this meaning to Him. It is true, I believe, that Jewish law regarded *πορνεία* before marriage as a sufficient and indeed a necessary ground for divorce, or rather annulment of marriage. But it apparently also regarded adultery (not at that time a capital offence) as a sufficient cause. Matthew therefore can hardly have intended to represent our Lord as granting divorce for unchastity before marriage and refusing it for unchastity after marriage.

I do not think I need spend many words over the other two interpretations, though one of them was perhaps held

by a section of the early Church ; [1] neither I think will commend itself as satisfactory from the legislative point of view. Few, that is, will be inclined to think that any such meaning can have been intended by our Lord. It is perhaps not so easy to find reasons why the evangelist may not have intended to attribute one of these meanings to Him. Still, on the whole, I am not surprised that the great mass of scholars should have taken for granted that the word here means "adultery." And if so, it is also not surprising that the point should have received little discussion. The attitude of scholars I take to be this: "πορνεία is a strange word in this context, but there it is. It clearly means 'adultery' and must have been understood in that sense. Nothing is to be gained by supposing it to be spurious, for while it is quite conceivable in itself that the exception was interpolated, there is no more reason why the interpolator should have employed this unusual word than why the evangelist should do so. We must therefore note that πορνεία is here used for adultery and modify our ideas of its usage accordingly." This is sound reasoning on ordinary assumptions. But the case will be altered if we can suggest a reason why an interpolator should use πορνεία rather than μοιχεία. I think we can suggest such a reason.

No one hitherto seems to have been struck with the significance of the fact that the Gospel which lays down that πορνεία makes divorce lawful is also the Gospel which records a proposed divorce for πορνεία *in the proper sense of the word.* St. Matthew's Gospel opens, as we all know, with the statement that Joseph proposed to divorce his betrothed wife, because he found that she was pregnant,

[1] This I take to have been actually the view of the Alexandrine Church: *v.* Wright's *Synopsis*, i. 99 (though he does not draw exactly this conclusion), Does the same idea appear in Hermas IV. 1–6 ?

and would have done so but for divine intervention. It also adds that Joseph in doing this acted as a just man. In other words, the evangelist states emphatically that δικαιοσύνη requires a man to divorce his wife ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ in the sense of prenuptial sin. Now surely it is not impossible that some early scribe or student reading this, and then finding later on that the evangelist banned divorce altogether, may have detected an inconsistency and noted at the side, or inserted in his text, the correction παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας and μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ. Such a scribe or reader might not perhaps be very thoughtful or reasonable. If he reflected more, he might have seen reason to doubt whether our Lord in His teaching need be bound by what was δικαιοσύνη to Joseph, and also perhaps whether the case of a wife πρὶν συνελθεῖν is exactly the same as μετὰ τὸ συνελθεῖν. Also he might have stopped to consider that if πορνεία or prenuptial sin was to be allowed as a reason in Christian law for divorce, μοιχεία or postnuptial sin must also be allowed. But that is just what the glossator does not do. He sees, or thinks he sees, that his author has committed himself to the doctrine that πορνεία justifies divorce and he annotates accordingly.

Three possible objections may be raised to this suggestion. In the first place many scholars feel a very strong repugnance to any tampering with the text, where neither MSS., versions or quotations suggest any variation. This seems to me too arbitrary. While it is true that the early date to which we can trace back the text of the New Testament enormously diminishes the probability of a corruption or interpolation in any particular case, it does not altogether remove it. A book is like the man—as soon as it is born it goes astray and is miscopied—and we may be fairly certain that during the limited but still considerable number of years that elapsed between the publication of the First

Gospel and the earliest versions, some corruptions, or interpolations, or omissions were actually made. We feel shy of suggesting corrections in the New Testament, mainly perhaps because we feel that in the absence of direct evidence the habit is a dangerous one. But it may be observed that those who suggest corrections from doctrinal reasons and those who suggest them for philological reasons stand on a different footing as regards this danger. To suggest that the exception is interpolated because it appears to us to be inconsistent with what we expect of our Lord's teaching is perhaps dangerous. To suggest that it is interpolated because a word is used which does not seem to us to bear the required meaning is to suggest a ground for doubt, which may be less convincing, but is also far less dangerous.

A second possible objection is that we have (so at least it may be said) no evidence that those through whose hands the earlier copies of our Gospels passed were sticklers for historical consistency. I certainly do not know of any such evidence, but perhaps one reason of this may be that there were few inconsistencies. The Gospels often differ from each other and sometimes from the Old Testament, but they are very seldom at variance with themselves. In the First Gospel I cannot recall a single instance. If so, we have no evidence against my suggestion, while on the other hand it may be said that the desire to produce consistency between the covers of a single book is a natural instinct which we may expect to find in any body of readers.

A third point is this. Any one who suspects a gloss or interpolation is bound to show that the words, which he suspects, will, if omitted, in no way injure the sense and structure of the passage. Now most people will probably feel that the omission of the words *πάρεκτος λόγου πορνείας* in v. 32 improves the run of the passage, while it certainly does not injure the sense. But the case of xix. 9 is at

first sight somewhat different. It will be remembered that the question of the Pharisees takes in Mark the form, "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife?" but in Matthew "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for any cause?" It has been thought that these words *κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν* lead up to and imply the subsequent addition, *μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ*, and in this case the sense would not allow us to omit the latter and retain the former. If this is so, it is fatal to my suggestion, but careful reflection will not, I think, bear this out. There is no real connexion between the two Matthæan additions, and either can stand without the other. The fact is that Matthew, either from superior knowledge or judgment, has put the question in the form in which it would naturally be asked. The Pharisees wished, we may believe, to embroil Him with Herod. If so, it would not serve their purpose to raise the general question of divorce. On this they had no reason to suppose that He was unorthodox, or would doubt that Deuteronomy sanctioned it in some form. What they wanted to elicit was whether He sanctioned the laxer interpretations of the text. In fact it seems to me that the Matthæan narrative, if we retain *κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν* and expunge *μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ*, puts the story in the most effective and dramatic form. The opponents do not, we may suppose, hold the lax Herodian view, but wish to draw a declaration from Him without endangering themselves. They are astonished and confounded when, ignoring the special case of Herod, He attacks *their* position.

I do not then think that any of these objections is serious; but there remains another objection the force of which I do not wish to minimise. It is this. We should expect in the ordinary course of things that if our Lord had declared absolutely, as in St. Mark, against divorce another tradition would arise, which represented Him as giving what might

be thought to be a more practicable rule. Thus, if we waive the difficulty of the word *πορνεία*, the accepted explanation represents the Matthæan exception as an ordinary and normal development of tradition. On the other hand, according to the explanation I have suggested, it arose rather through a blunder and an accident, though, I think, a natural blunder and an intelligible accident. Thus the accepted explanation starts with an advantage which has to be set against the fact that it leaves the use of *πορνεία* unexplained.[1] I feel the niceness of these considerations, and I do not put forward my suggestion (which so far as I know is new) as anything more than an alternative hypothesis. But as an alternative hypothesis I venture to think it deserves consideration.

F. H. Colson.

[1] It should be added that the lexicography of *πορνεία* seems to be imperfectly treated even in the Paris Stephanus. Since I first drafted this paper I have come across a letter in the Biography of Bishop John Wordsworth, where he mentions this point. He gives it as his opinion that *πορνεία* includes *μοιχεία*, and cites the Clementine Homilies (Letter of Clement to James 38). Then we find *πορνείας εἴδη πολλά . . . πλὴν πρώτη μοιχεία ἐστί*. A quotation of this sort standing by itself and possibly based on the two passages of Matthew does not to my mind disprove the view that *πορνεία* is not a natural word to be used in these two passages, but it is the strongest evidence I have seen hitherto for the traditional view. Yet it does not seem to have been recorded by either the dictionaries or the commentators.

THE REGULATIVE VALUE FOR THE PAULINE THEOLOGY OF THE CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIAN SONSHIP.

It is a noteworthy fact that St. Paul's greatest epistles reach their climax in the conception of the Sonship of Christians. The statement needs no demonstration for Galatians and Romans. In the former the apostle aims at showing the entire subordination of the Law to Faith in the matter of attaining salvation. He carries out his aim by emphasising the provisional and preparatory character of the Law as a spiritual discipline, a discipline which simply clears the way for the all-satisfying relationship of Faith. But Faith is not an end in itself. It transfers the believer into a new religious atmosphere and attitude. "You are all sons of God through faith in union with Christ Jesus" (Gal. iii. 26). The whole paragraph (Gal. iii. 23–28) thrills with joyful emotion. To such an extent does the contrast between his old and his new relation to God overpower the apostle's consciousness that he immediately returns to it in fuller detail. The earlier condition under legalism was one of minority. .It was hampered by all manner of restrictions which really constituted bondage. When God's time arrived, He sent forth His own Son to make it possible for those whose religion was nothing else than slavery to enter upon the glad possession of sonship. That was the *raison d'être* of the Incarnation (Gal. iv. 1–6). Here the thought of the Epistle soars to its highest point. All that follows is application or inference.

Paul's procedure in Romans follows similar lines, although the contrast between minority and majority is replaced by that between life according to the Flesh and life according to the Spirit. The true conclusion of the long argument

regarding justification and the new life to which it leads is reached in Romans viii. 2; "The law (or principle) of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus set you (*v. l.* me) at liberty from the law of sin and death." Thereupon he draws out the significance of the new life-principle. "All who are led by the Spirit of God, they are sons of God. You did not receive the spirit of slavery that would make you relapse into fear: you received the Spirit of Sonship, which prompts you to cry, Abba, Father. It is the Spirit which bears witness with our own spirit that we are children of God" (Rom. viii. 14–16). Nothing loftier can be affirmed of their position. He only adds the bold statement that creation itself eagerly waits for the sons of God to be revealed (Rom. viii. 19).

I believe that the climax of Ephesians is determined by the same conception, although the form in which it is expressed may partially conceal the fact. No idea is more prominent throughout that Epistle than the extraordinary discovery which Paul has made, that Pagans are to share the highest spiritual privileges with Jews. That he regards as a supreme disclosure of the Gospel of Christ. It receives its clearest formulation in Ephesians ii. 18: "Through him (i.e., Christ) both sections of us can approach the Father in one Spirit." Here the term "Father" is no mere proper name. It is used of set purpose, and that purpose is to remind his Gentile readers of their new relation of sonship to God. In his usual fashion he returns to this amazing revelation of the Divine grace in iii. 6–12, ending up with his former idea of the wonderful opportunity of approach (προσαγωγή) to God. And then comes that prayer, which is the crowning-point of the Epistle, in which his final petition asks that "you may be able, with all the saints, to grasp what is the meaning of 'the Breadth,' 'the Length,' 'the Depth,' and 'the Height,' by knowing

the love of Christ which surpasses all knowledge, so that you may be filled with the entire fulness of God " (iii. 18, 19, mainly Moffatt's translation). But the key to the significance of the petition is found in the opening sentence of the prayer: " I kneel before the Father, from whom every family in heaven and on earth derives its name and nature " (iii. 14, 15, Moff.). That is to say, the prayer has for its basis and presupposition the family idea. It is because they are " sons " of God that he can venture to make request for the bestowal of such unspeakable blessings upon them.

Is it possible for us to analyse the process by which this conception came to be central for Paul's religious thought? If we follow the analogy of his other regulative ideas, we are safe in assigning a profound influence to his personal experience. All that remains vital in his Christian outlook can be traced to the crisis in which he came to see God with a new vision. " It was the God who said, Light shall shine out of darkness, who shone in my heart to illuminate it with the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ " (2 Cor. iv. 6). We know what the illumination meant. First of all it cleared away the misconceptions which had gathered round the fact of a *crucified* Messiah. The Cross became for Paul the symbol of an unfathomable self-sacrifice, and at the same time he came to realise that the self-sacrifice belonged to the heart of God (Rom. v. 8; 2 Cor. v. 19). Here, therefore, is a revolution in his comprehension of God. Inexorable righteousness is shot through with love. Frail man, with his blurred record of failure and aspiration, has no longer to face the hopeless task of earning the Divine favour. The amazing love of God anticipates his efforts, meets him half-way, assures him in Jesus Christ of a full forgiveness, inspires him to press on with unfaltering confidence in a gracious arm which will

not let him go. All this implies a complete alteration of attitude towards God. Probably few had ever more seriously pondered the relation of God to man than Paul the Pharisee. We know that his reflexion had produced a mood of hopelessness. "Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" (Rom. vii. 24). A triumphant answer issued from his discovery on the Damascus road: "Thanks be to God, deliverance has come through Jesus Christ our Lord" (Rom. vii. 25). In one place (Col. i. 13) he calls this rescue a transference "into the kingdom of the Son of God's love." Love is the atmosphere of the new realm: sonship is the mark of its citizens. We can have little doubt, therefore, that when Paul describes Christians as "sons" of God, he has in view that relationship which he knows best. His new career is blended of love and hope and joy and adoration. The air he breathes is freedom in God's presence, the freedom of the son who is sure he understands his Father, and who is sure that his Father understands him.

We must attempt to discuss in detail the more important features embraced in Paul's conception of Sonship. But, by way of preface, let us note the limitations of the metaphor as used by him. Probably in no instance has the analogy between the sphere of the human and the Divine been more recklessly exaggerated than in the case of Fatherhood and Sonship. Even when we apply these terms to the relation between God and Him in whom we find the all-satisfying revelation of God, we are apt to be unduly influenced by anthropomorphic ideas. They are, of course, a help in picturing transcendent realities, but when we try to erect upon them a metaphysical structure, we ignore our mental limitations. Paul's own procedure implies the consciousness that he is dealing with illustrations. Thus, in comparing sonship in the Divine family with that

in the human, he lays the emphasis in one passage (Gal. iii. 24–26, iv. 1–3) on the contrast between minority and majority. The minor has to submit to guardians set over him, even to the tutorship of a slave of the family. Only when he attains majority does he enter upon the rights of a son. But this comparison holds merely to a limited extent of the sonship of believers. No doubt minority corresponds, in the case of Jews, to the discipline of legalism, in the case of Gentiles, to that subjection to elemental spirits (*στοιχεῖα* Gal. iv. 3, 9) which enslaved them in their pre-Christian days. But Paul sees in sonship something more than the attainment at a given time of large and splendid rights. It is, for him, a progressive realisation of possibilities, which broadens and deepens, like all the central phases of Christian experience, and culminates in complete conformity to the image of God's Son (Rom. viii. 29), involving at that stage redemption of the whole nature, body as well as spirit (Rom. viii. 23; cf. Phil. iii. 21). A further modification of the metaphor may be recognised in Paul's deliberate use of the term *υἱοθεσία* in this connexion. One is often inclined to translate it by "sonship" (especially in Rom. viii. 15; Eph. i. 5). But the term of course means the act, so common in the Graeco-Roman world of Paul's time and earlier,[1] by which some one outside a family is made a member of it and entitled to all its rights and privileges. So Paul's usage stands in contrast with the Johannine metaphor of being "begotten" (*γεννηθῆναι*) of God. This is not because he has a special predilection for legal phraseology. For here and there he approximates closely to the notion of regeneration (e.g., *καινὴ κτίσις* in 2 Cor. v. 17). But, as always, he has in view that amazing Divine operation by which he himself, in spite of his utter unworthiness

[1] See esp. Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, pp. 66, 67.

(1 Cor. xv. 8, 9), was laid hold of by an almighty power (Phil. iii. 12), and deemed worthy of being invited (*καλεῖν*, Gal. i. 15) into the family of God. He, the complete outsider, was graciously brought in. That is adoption. These facts remind us that we must beware of pressing a group of images which really fluctuate.

The metaphor, nevertheless, as a general description of the new Christian relationship, lay close to Paul's hand. When he recounts with a certain sense of pride the unique prerogatives of his own race (Rom. ix. 4 f.), he sets in the forefront "the adoption" (*ἡ υἱοθεσία*) and "the revealed presence of God" (*ἡ δόξα*), and "the covenants" (*αἱ διαθῆκαι*) and "the legislation" (*ἡ νομοθεσία*) and "the worship" (*ἡ λατρεία*) and "the promises" (*αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι*). God had chosen the children of Israel as His sons. Paul had often read with inward exultation, in his Greek Bible, the words of Exodus iv. 22 ff.: "Thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the Lord, Israel is my son, my firstborn (*υἱὸς πρωτότοκός μου Ἰσραήλ*): and I have said unto thee, Let my son go that he may serve me." This relationship was bound up with the past history of the people. It lay at the basis of the far-reaching promises (*αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι*) made in Abraham to his descendants, those promises which, in the evolution of the national religion, came to be identified with the Messiah and the Messianic Age. It was altogether in accordance with the earlier standpoint that in the later literature, such as Psalm lxxxix. 26 f., the ideal king should be represented as exclaiming, "Thou art my father, my God, and the rock of my salvation," and that God should reply, "I will make him my firstborn, the highest of the kings of the earth." But Paul was fully convinced that the Christian community was the true successor to the heritage of Israel. For the chosen people had rejected the Messiah of God. They had therefore alienated the right of sonship,

which no longer depended on lineal descent from Israel. "Not all who spring from Israel are Israel, nor does it follow that all are his children (*τέκνα*) because they are Abraham's descendants, but (as Scripture says), 'In Isaac shall descendants have thy name': i.e., instead of his children by natural descent being the children of God, it is the children of the promise who are counted as his real descendants" (Rom. ix. 6–8). And in Galatians iv. 28 the apostle asserts of his heathen converts: "You, brethren, are the children of the promise like Isaac." Passages like these suggest that the idea of "children" (or "sons") of God was one which had occupied Paul's mind in his pre-Christian days. At that stage of his thought, however, the conception was far more racial than individual. In the light of his spiritual self-consciousness he had discovered the relationship to be much more intimate than he had hitherto conceived it. It was not merely the expectation of future blessings, of a possession to which he was already constituted heir. That notion, indeed, survives in connexion with the consummation of the Messianic salvation in his use of the term *κληρονόμος* (Rom. viii. 17; Gal. iii. 29, iv. 7), and *κληρονομία* (Cal. iii. 18; Eph. i. 14, 18, v. 5). For Paul the distant boon has become a realised experience. As such, it is the supreme pledge of the fulfilment of all God's promises in Jesus Christ.

But in estimating the full significance of sonship in Paul's thought, we must not ignore the fact that, for him, Christ was *par excellence* the Son of God. There has been keen controversy regarding Paul's use of the term. How much does it connote for him? One is inclined to believe that he found the phrase current in the Christian community when he entered it. For he never discusses its import as if that were something novel. Now the usage in Christian circles may well have been determined by two features

which are evident in the tradition. On the one hand Son of God was a Messianic title. This appears in several apocalypses, but its significance for early Christianity is most clearly brought out by the central place assigned to such passages as Psalm ii. 7, "Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee," and Psalm cx. 3 (LXX), "Before the morning star out of the womb I begat thee" (ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐξεγέννησά σε). On the other hand, Jesus' references to His sonship are too firmly embedded in the Synoptic report to be dismissed as late accretions. The fusion of these factors was inevitable. Equally so was the interpretation of this unique Sonship in a more or less metaphysical sense. Both those features are reflected in Paul's letters. A statement like that of Romans i. 3, 4, "His son, born of David's lineage, by natural descent, defined (or installed) as Son of God with power by the spirit of holiness after his resurrection from the dead" falls into line with the Messianic application of the title. The metaphysical aspect is revealed by such descriptions as Colossians i. 13 ff., "The Son of His love . . . who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn (πρωτότοκος) of all creation." Both conceptions meet in the light of Paul's personal experience of One by whom his life was transformed, and whom he must assign to a sphere above humanity. But the amazing characteristic of the Son of God was His condescension to the needs of men. "God sent His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh" (Rom. viii. 3). He entered into the living organism of the human race. Thereby He became the founder of a new humanity. "The first man was of the earth, earthy, the second man is from heaven" (1 Cor. xv. 47), "as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive" (1 Cor. xv. 22; cf. Rom. v. 17). For our discussion it is important to observe that Paul directly associates this idea of a new humanity with the filial relationship to God. "Those

whom He foreknew, He also predestined to share the likeness of His Son, that He might be the firstborn (πρωτότοκος) of a great brotherhood" (Rom. viii. 29, mainly Moff.). Those who belong to the brotherhood of Christ, who share the likeness of the Son, must necessarily be themselves "sons" of God. So that we are justified in saying that Paul's view of the Divine purpose contributed its part to his formulation of the conception of sonship.

Let us now analyse more minutely the Pauline idea of the Sonship of Christians. As in the case of most of his central thoughts, he is not content with a single controlling description. We know the rich variety of aspects, e.g., under which he sets forth his interpretation of the Death of Christ. The significance of the event he feels to be so inexhaustible that he throws his mind upon it from one standpoint and another, lest some vital element should elude him. So, too, with his doctrine of the Spirit, metaphor follows metaphor in almost bewildering succession. The Spirit is the firstfruits of the future glory of the Christian. The Spirit is the pledge of God's faithfulness. The Spirit is the Divine testimony to the reality of faith. The Spirit is the principle of new life. The Spirit makes intercession for the self-distrusting heart. The Spirit is the living Lord Himself. We need not, therefore, be surprised at the manifoldness of appeal which the idea of sonship makes to the apostle's reflexion.

Probably it would be untrue to the nature of Paul's experience to attempt to trace a rigidly genetic development of this conception. But it will tend to clearness if we follow a more or less logical order.

(*a*) Plainly the determining factor in the filial relationship of Christians for Paul's thought is *the Living Christ*. This may be said to be presupposed throughout, but it is deliberately expressed, e.g., in Galatians iii. 26, "You are all sons

of God through faith in fellowship with (ἐν) Christ Jesus." Deissmann has conclusively shown that ἐν can no more be taken with πίστις in this passage than in any other in the New Testament (*Die neutest. Formel "in Christo Jesu,"* pp. 103, 104). If confirmation of this view were needed, it may be found in verse 28, which immediately follows: "You are all one in fellowship with Christ Jesus." Here Paul is true to the essential basis of his Christian position. For him everything fundamental in the new life springs from his intimacy with Christ. Of no element can the statement be more truly made than of sonship. We have already glanced at the meaning of Paul's designation of Christ as the "Son" of God. And we know how normative for his personal experience was the conviction of sharing by faith in the experiences of his Lord. This is far from being a mere metaphor. It expresses the profoundest element in Paul's religion. It has often been called his mysticism. But that term is riddled with assumptions. No clear-cut description is at all adequate. But when he makes union with Christ the basis of Christian sonship, we are reminded that in the designation of Christ as the "Son" of God, moral and spiritual elements are at least as prominent as those which transcend the categories of religious value.

(*b*) When Paul, perhaps more or less unconsciously, analyses the crisis in his own career, he frequently describes it in terms of *the Spirit*. The reason is not far to seek. In one of his most deliberate accounts of the event, he speaks of God's gracious purpose "to reveal his Son in me" (Gal. i. 16). Without pausing to dwell on the mention of the "Son," a fact so significant for our discussion and one which illuminates what has been said in the last paragraph, the revelation of the risen Christ to St. Paul on the Damascus road, however we may conceive its objective frame-work,

is here emphasised as a spiritual experience. When the apostle endeavoured to place it in the clear light of thought, he would be compelled to regard it as mediated directly by Divine energy, and he can find no better name for that than the Spirit. He is accustomed to identify the Spirit with the living Lord (e.g., 2 Cor. iii. 17, and the sequence in Rom. viii. 9, 10). The identification is surely due to the fact that his extraordinary awareness of the living Christ took the value of a reinforcement of his spiritual power. Here was one unmistakable issue. He was actually liberated from the burdensome sense of failure. He became assured of high moral possibilities. He could face the conflict of life with the certainty of triumph.

What was the secret of this transformation of his spiritual tone? His contact with Christ meant essentially a new view of God. Apart altogether from what he may have known of Christ's message of God—and that was a crucial factor, as we shall see—he felt that God, the God of love, was appealing to him in Christ then and there. It was Christ's ministry to himself he was carrying forward when he exhorts the Corinthians (2 Cor. v. 20), "On Christ's behalf we come as ambassadors, God, as it were, entreating you through us: we beseech you on Christ's behalf, Be reconciled to God." Indeed this is declared in so many words in verse 18. Now the appeal of God he construes as that of the Father. Here is the All-holy meeting him with undreamed-of condescension and mercy. God pleads with his soul for frank recognition of what He is. And Paul tremblingly, yet joyfully, yields. The new attitude is almost too good to be true. But he has no hesitation about it. God needs him and welcomes him as His son. Here is the explanation of some of his most memorable statements regarding sonship: "All who are led by the Spirit of God [as he had been], these are sons of God [this is

the aim of the leading]. For you did not receive the spirit of slavery that would make you relapse into fear [the old loyal attitude of which Paul shuddered to think], but you received the Spirit of adoption [the experience which places a man in the position of a son], in whom we cry, Abba, Father [the response of artless trust, and unsuspicious, reverential love]. The Spirit himself testifies along with our spirit that we are children of God" (Rom. viii. 14–16). Hence Paul may be said to regard the filial relationship of the Christian as the gift of God through the Spirit.

We have noticed the living bond which in Paul's view unifies Christ and the Spirit. So it is not surprising that the process which has just been described is often more directly associated with Christ Himself. This is well exemplified by Galatians iv. 3 ff.: "We also, when we were minors, were enslaved to the elemental spirits of the world, but when the fulness of the time came, God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, that he might redeem those under the law, that we might receive our adoption (*υἱοθεσία*). Thus, because you are sons (*υἱοί*), God sent forth the Spirit of His Son (*υἱός*) into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father." Here Paul has made his conversion-experience the subject of reflexion. In the passage quoted in the last paragraph he deals immediately with the experience itself. Now he comes back to its implication, and in so doing gains fresh light on its significance. Sonship can be traced to the working of God's Son. He graciously identified Himself with those who were groping after a vision of the Divine heart, willing to lead them out of darkness into the light in which He dwelt. Those who are ready to commit themselves to Him share in His blessedness. They receive His Spirit, which is of necessity the

Spirit of Sonship, the Family-spirit, which breaks down all barriers between them and the Father, and enables them to feel at home with God.

(*c*) In the light of his spiritual history, it is natural that one aspect of this new attitude of Sonship should, above all others, thrill the soul of the apostle, his consciousness of *inward freedom*. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is," the Spirit which, as we have seen, has given him the assurance of sonship, "there is freedom" (2 Cor. iii. 17). The statement brings us right into the heart of his new conception of religion. As we study it throughout the Epistles in the various forms it assumes, we are amazed at its magnitude and its daring. Resting, as it does, on his profound conviction of the relation of the soul to God as an immediate relation which allows no interference of any kind from without, which through the medium of Divine power lays bare the depths of a man's nature to all needful impressions of the will and significance of God for him, it becomes the basis of judgment on all the situations in life which demand moral or spiritual decisions. "The man who possesses the Spirit" (ὁ πνευματικός), and therefore has entered into inward freedom, "can estimate (ἀνακρίνει) all things, while he himself can be estimated by no one" (1 Cor. ii. 15). The position is extraordinarily bold, and obviously perilous for all but the most balanced natures. The apprehension of its danger no doubt lent a formidable weapon to his Jewish-Christian opponents. They could argue with force to their leaders at Jerusalem that once the well-defined control of the Law were removed, the door was thrown open to religious and moral anarchy. Paul was also alive to this. "You were called indeed to freedom, but beware of making your freedom a starting-point for self-indulgence" (Gal. v. 15). Yet he stands immovable upon the great prin-

ciple. He stakes the entire future of Christianity upon it. He faces the misunderstanding and mistrust of his fellow-apostles rather than deviate by a hairbreadth from it. "Not for a moment did we yield by submitting to them [those who made circumcision a term of Church-membership], in order that the truth of the Gospel might be your permanent possession" (Gal. ii. 5). He will call this spiritual freedom, this solitary responsibility of the Christian to God alone, "the truth of the Gospel," the fundamental element in the revelation of Jesus. But it is not rashness or want of thought that prompts his action. The relationship into which he has been brought by the Spirit, and which is the guarantee of freedom, is not something vague and undefined. The freedom is not that of individuals released from all controlling influences. It is that of the sons of God. It is freedom within the family. It presupposes the rule of the family-spirit. That spirit is not mere undisciplined self-realisation in the arbitrary sense, but self-forgetting love. So we are not surprised that when he warns his Galatian converts against turning their freedom into licence he adds the positive obligation: "By means of love be servants to one another" (Gal. v. 13).

(*d*) In view of the emphasis which in recent investigations has been laid on the *eschatological drift* of Paul's religious thought, it is of interest to observe the manner in which he relates the idea of Sonship to the future. We must, at a later point, attempt to trace the limitation imposed by the conception upon his eschatology. Meanwhile it has to be recognised that for the apostle the sonship of the Christian, like all the chief elements in his relation to God, implies a development. God, indeed, sees the end in the beginning. And to the trustful soul that assurance is a tower of strength. But John states an essentially Pauline

position when he writes (1 John iii. 2): "We are now children of God, but it has not yet been manifested what we shall be." Paul gives hints of what he conceives as the progress to be made in the realisation of sonship and its full consummation. And these hints illumine the subject as a whole. First of all, the progress of those who are sons of God is to follow the lines of that discipline to which the Son obediently submitted. "If we are children, we are also heirs (κληρονόμοι), heirs of God, and thus fellow-heirs with Christ, since in truth we suffer with him, in order that with him we may be glorified" (Rom. viii. 17). This passage is rich in suggestion. Already the Christian as a child knows and is able to deal with God as his Father. Already he can in some degree grasp the significance of what Jesus has said regarding the promised attitude of the Father: "Child, thou art always with me, and all that I have is thine" (Luke xv. 31). How adequately Paul himself appreciated this profound announcement of the Gospel appears from 1 Corinthians iii. 21, "All things are yours," a saying which is surely an echo of the Master's words. But no less clearly does he recognise that the existing conditions of human nature prevent the children from entering into full possession of their incomparable privileges. "What the eye has not seen, what the ear has not heard, what has not entered into the heart of man —all the things which God has prepared for them that love him" (1 Cor. ii. 9)—this is the heritage which awaits the sons of God. But even the Son had to pass through a curriculum of suffering ere He entered into His glory (e.g., Phil. ii. 5–11). Those who are to share His experience must tread the same path. For the very meaning of their sonship is to be conformed to the image of the Son (Rom. viii. 29).

But Paul will not exaggerate the burden of this time of suffering. That is completely overshadowed by the splendour of their prospect (Rom. viii. 18). This he designates by the pregnant term "glory" (δόξα). One need only remark that for him the term (which renders the Old Testament כָּבוֹד) denotes, roughly speaking, the nature of that life which belongs to God, the life upon which the exalted Lord has entered, and which they too shall share. The apostle drops a hint of the transformation to which he looks forward. "Even we [the τέκνα θεοῦ] who already possess the Spirit as the firstfruits groan within our hearts as we eagerly await our adoption, i.e., the redemption of our body" (Rom. viii. 23). What hinders the sons of God above all else from realising the full significance of their new relationship is the body with its sensuous life. But flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God (1 Cor. xv. 53). The entrance into glory will at least mean the replacing of the fleshly body by a spiritual organism (σῶμα πνευματικόν), which will be the perfect expression of the glorified spirit. Thus will be completely achieved that freedom which is the essence of sonship. But Paul's rapt gaze seeks to penetrate further. Large vistas open up before him. The consummated sonship of believers means far more than the transformation of individuals. It stretches even beyond the Christian society. It is fraught with significance for the entire universe. It is a disclosure of God's magnificent plan, which links together Creation and Redemption. It kindles the vision of a transfiguration of all things, when "creation itself shall be liberated from its bondage to decay, and shall attain the freedom of the glory of the sons of God" (Rom. viii. 21). Paul's bold conception is illuminated by his later affirmation of Christ as "the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation," in whom

"all things were created in heaven and on earth, things visible and invisible": "all things have been created through him and with a view to him" (Col. i. 15–17). And so in Christ, the Son of God, the entire world of being finds its unity and the crown of its development.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

(To be continued.)

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

A PARAPHRASE.

Chapter IV.

1–2. Now mark: as long as the heir is a minor, he is no better than a slave, though he is prospectively absolute owner: he is controlled by tutors and guardians until he attains his majority at whatever time his father has appointed.

3. So we too, when we were spiritually not grown up, had to submit to the guidance of such notions as were inherent in an elementary world-stage, (*as opposed to the advanced spiritual ideas that came later.*)

4. But at the time God *the Father* had appointed, He sent His Son to become Incarnate of a human Mother, to subject Himself too *at first* to Law's restraint, *and to bring us to our majority,* to set us free from servitude to Law *our childhood's warden,* and to give us true enfranchisement by making possible our adoption as sons by God.

5–6. And the evidence that we have attained to sonship is that God has sent into our hearts the Spirit of His Son, which brings us that strong feeling of filial relationship which makes us yearn to God, so that each in our mother-tongue we cry to Him as "Father."

7. Each one of you has been brought "out of the house of BONDAGE" into the full LIBERTY of sonship, and since you are a son, you succeed, as I said before, to the inheritance promised by God.

8–11. And in what a state of bondage you were in those old days! you did not know the Truth of God. You were in slavish subjection to things which at best were semblances of the divine, no real gods at all. But now having

come to acknowledge God, or rather, I should say, having come to be acknowledged by Him (*as sons through Christ*), how can you think of reverting to an imperfect elementary stage of religious knowledge and practice? Those puerile ideas! how can you wish to be enslaved by them again! to make religion consist in a mere routine, the slavish observance of a mechanical round of days, months, seasons, years! I fear all the pains I have taken, *to show you that true religion consists in something far higher and more spiritual*, have been in vain.

12–14. My brothers, let there be no difference in affection between us, for verily I am one with you: and indeed I had no cause for complaint in your treatment of me, *you were personally so very good to me*. You remember how miserable I looked on that first visit when I came and preached to you: my appearance must have tried you much, yet so far from keeping away from me as repulsive and horrible, you extended such a warm welcome to me. I might really have been a messenger from another world, so kindly did you receive me: ye did it as to Christ.

15–16. How proud you were and how you congratulated yourselves *to have me with you* then! and what a contrast now! Why, I vow, if you could have done such a thing, you would have "given your eyes" to relieve my sufferings. Can it really be that you have grown to dislike me because I was too sincere and outspoken?

17–18. You receive much earnest attention from these other men, I know; but I fear it is insincere; for they try to isolate you, to keep you to themselves, in order that they may receive all your attention. I am quite willing to admit that it is well that you should receive attention from others as well as from myself, that you should be the object of others' zeal and interest when I cannot be with you, so long as it is in the right spirit and for a good purpose.

19–20. O my children, whom I brought to Life, must the hard travail of the past be all gone through again till the Christ-Life once more throb in you? Oh! how I wish I could be with you now! perhaps I might put all this more gently to you, my children, for I am so puzzled about you.

21–23. Meanwhile, you are so anxious to be guided in every detail by the Law, read it carefully and in the books of the Law itself, *you, whose new instructors are so anxious that you should be "children of Abraham,"* will find that, according to the Sacred Narrative, Abraham had two sorts of children. There was the child of Hagar the bondmaid, which was born in the ordinary course of nature: and there was the child of Sarah, the true wife, the free-woman, born in *wonderful* fulfilment of the Promise.

24–25. Now all this may well be regarded as containing an allegory. The two mothers may be taken to represent the two "covenants." Hagar, the slave-mother, who could only beget a son born in slavery, may stand for the Old Covenant, which originated from Sinai (a mountain in Arabia, which indeed is sometimes itself called Hagar), which (old covenant) could only produce a race of descendants born in servitude, in *bondage to Law*. . . And the Hagar of to-day is Jerusalem in Judæa, *the mother city of the law-serving Judaisers*, she and her children are still slaves *to Law.*

26–27. But WE are born of the other mother, the free one; and that is the spiritual Jerusalem, *the city and "Church" of the living God; Her children may be long in coming, but indeed they will come as the prophet Isaiah foretold:* "there will be joy and laughter (*Isaac*) at their birth of a mother who had waited so long barren and childless; and ere long they will far outnumber their rivals."

28. And it is we, brethren, who should represent this Isaac, we are the long-promised children.

29–30. And just as in those early days the natural son, the son of servitude, persecuted the one whose birth was due to the power of the Spirit, so it is now; *the sons of bondage trouble the sons of Freedom. But it will not always be so, for* you will read in the Scripture *the ultimate sentence against the slave-born*: "The slave-born with his mother must be rejected: he cannot share the heirship of the Promise: that must be reserved to the freeborn son."

31. Oh my brethren, we are not Ishmaels, *we are not born for any kind of bondage, Jewish or Gentile;* we are Isaacs, sons of Freedom.

CHAPTER V. 1. "For Freedom" Christ has freed us. Stand firm to that; surely you cannot wish to bend your necks again to any yoke of slavery.

2. Yet if you give yourselves up to slavish obedience to mere ceremonial Judaism, (of which "Circumcision" is the primary requirement), as the essential basis for salvation, what is that but to deny the All-Sufficiency of Christ's Redeeming work, whereby He won Freedom for us?

CHAPTERS V. 1–12, VI. 11–17.

1. Stand fast in the Freedom for which Christ has freed us; do not be dragged back to any form of Servitude.

2. I myself warn you plainly, if you admit *that* circumcision (*and all that it nowadays stands for*) *is absolutely binding and generally necessary to Salvation*, then Christ will lose all significance and helpfulness for you.

3. *I must bear my testimony as to what Circumcision really entails.* I tell you that submission to this rite binds the man who accepts it to the observance of the whole legal system.

4. And if it is to perfect observance of the Law that you look for Salvation, you have thereby rejected and turned away from Christ, you are utterly cut off from Him, you

have lapsed from dependence on Grace, lost the Grace that was yours by union with Christ.

5. But we surely look for Salvation and acceptance with God to come SPIRITUALLY—through FAITH.

6. And *when one surrenders oneself to Faith* in our Saviour Christ, it really does not matter whether one is circumcised or uncircumcised: What does matter is that a deep Love *for Christ and all that He means* should issue in a burning energic Faith which MUST show itself in deeds of Love—in loving actions.

7–10. What splendid progress you were making! Who dared to check you in your course by dissuading you from loyalty to the Truth, *the true Gospel message?* This teaching, this persuasion is not according to the mind of Him Who calls you. Now very little of such leaven (*as persuasion to disloyalty*) is sufficient to work a startling change, to permeate a whole community: but yet my own persuasion under God is that you will not really dissent. . . But as for that man from whom all this trouble, this disturbance of your minds, arises, punishment must await him, whoever he may be.

11. *He tells you that I uphold the efficacy of circumcision!* They would scarcely be still persecuting me so bitterly if I were teaching confidence in Circumcision: for that would mean the entire suspension, the utter loss, of the doctrine of the Cross, which is their chief stumbling-block. *To substitute for confidence in Christ crucified, confidence in circumcision!* Let them cut themselves to pieces if they will, these miserable disturbers of your peace.

Ch. VI. 11. (*I must re-emphasise this most important point:* Notice, I am writing this very clearly with my own hand.)

12–13. It is just in order that they should look well and win honour in the eyes of the world, that these people want

to drive you to circumcision, and in order to avoid persecution for the doctrine of the Cross of Christ. *For it is not even sincere zeal for the keeping of the Law which actuates them:* Why, they do not even keep it themselves! They are merely anxious that you should accept circumcision, in order that they may win honour and glory by pointing to you *as their proselytes, and* as observers of the rite.

14. *Honour and glory and the world's praise!* God grant that in nothing may I ever glory save only in the Cross *and all its shame*, that Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ which has made me renounce and die unto the world, that Cross which has made the world renounce and disown me; I am dead to it and it is dead to me.

15. And *from that death* has come a quite new life, an altered nature, where distinctions of circumcision and uncircumcision now may disappear.

16 So may all who rule their lives along these lines find inward Peace, man's chiefest mercy. These are they who are *Abraham's seed, the People of God*, the spiritual Israel.

17. Let no one vex or burden me henceforth, for I show upon my body very plainly Whose I am and Whom I serve.

18. May the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit, brethren. Amen.

A "SECTION" ON CHRISTIAN CONDUCT.

Chapter V. 13—VI. 11.

13–14. My brothers, *I told you that* you were called 'For Freedom"; *but do not mistake me*, it is not Freedom for self-indulgence, it is Freedom for loving Service and self-sacrifice for others. *You who are so anxious to carry out*

the Law's demands, be sure that, if you love your neighbour as yourself, you will be fulfilling the whole spirit of the law.

15. But to hate your neighbour! that can but mean utter ruin and desolation for you all.

16–18. And so, *to prevent that*, I bid you make the Spiritual dominant, then you will not give way to the strong desires of your lower nature, *Is it not your experience, as it was mine, that* the lower appetite and the higher aspiration in you are in constant opposition the one against the other, with the result that you always seem unable to do what you really want? *Therefore make the spirit dominant.* [Moreover, if you submit to the CONSTRAINT of the spirit, you will not need the RESTRAINT of the Law.]

19–21. But if in this contest the lower nature gains the mastery, what it produces is, alas, too evident. Sins against one-self: Sins against God: sins against society: *a terrible and unspeakable list.* Solemnly I repeat my warning, that the practice of such vices must ever debar men from any sphere where God is ruling.

22–23. What a contrast to these are the "kindly" fruits, or rather fruit, which the Life of the Spirit makes quietly to GROW in you.

Towards God—Love, joy and Peace: In your dealings with your fellow men—Patience, a gentle disposition, an active benevolence: In your personal life—Fidelity to conviction, humility, and strict self-control.

Here we are in a spiritual region quite beyond the scope of Law.

24. Now in those who follow Christ, the lower nature with all its wrongful cravings has been crucified and put to death, *the Spirit-Life is dominant.*

25. And if we feel we have the Spirit in us, surely our whole life ought to correspond.

26. There will then be no place in us for the illusion of

conceit: we shall not provoke each other, we shall not be jealous of each other.

CHAPTER VI. 1. Rather, my brothers, if you are guided by the Spirit, *you will be full of sympathy and helpfulness: even* in a case where a man is manifestly in the wrong, having been suddenly overpowered by temptation, it must be in a meek and humble spirit that you will try to set him right, knowing full well how easily, alas, might you yourself be tempted.

2. The burdens and weaknesses of others you must sympathize with and help them to bear: it is in this way that the highest Law, given by Christ Himself, will be fulfilled.

3. But *in doing this* do not regard yourselves as superior; beware of Pride, which leads to self-deception.

4–5. For every man should scrutinize his own conduct as it is in itself: then he will find out, not with reference to another, but with reference to himself alone, what he has to boast of. No man can shift his burden of personal responsibility.

6. *To take another point:* The disciple should minister of his substance to the Minister of the Word.

7–8. And be under no delusion. God will not be disregarded, *He will recompense every man according to his work:* As is the sowing, so shall the harvest be: he who fosters his lower mortal nature will have for his harvest the corruption and death inherent in it; but he who cultivates his higher immortal spirit will from the Spirit reap eternal life.

9. So do not let us ever tire of doing what is right and good; if only we will persevere, in the due time of harvest the recompense must come.

10. Till then, while yet there is time and opportunity, we must strive to do good and be helpful to all with whom

we come in contact, and especially to our fellow-Christians.

11. Brethren, this *long parenthesis* I have inserted in large letters, in my own hand. Mark it well.

---

18. May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit, brethren. Amen.

BERNARD H. TOWER.

INDEX.

PAGE

Rev. W. Ernest Beet, M.A., Litt.D.

The Map as an Aid to the Preaching of the Old Testament 56

Most Rev. J. H. Bernard, D.D., D.C.L., Archbishop of Dublin.

The Descent into Hades and Christian Baptism: a Study of 1 Peter iii. 19 ff. 241
The Gates of Hades 401

F. H. Colson, M.A.

The Divorce Exception in St. Matthew 438

Rev. Professor W. A. Curtis, D.D., Litt.D.

The New Testament and its Interpretation for our Time: a Definition of New Testament Criticism 1

Rev. George Edmundson, M.A.

The Enigma of Titus 321

Rev. C. W. Emmet, M.A.

Romans xv. and xvi.: a New Theory 275

Rev. Principal A. E. Garvie, M.A., D.D.

The Judgment in the Fourth Gospel 46

Professor Frank Granger, Litt.D.

The Semitic Element in the Fourth Gospel 349

Professor Rendel Harris, Litt.D.

Who sent Apollos to Corinth? 175

Rev F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock, D.D.

"Every Creature," not "All Creation," in Romans viii. 22 372

Rev. Maurice Jones, D.D.

Dr. Kirsopp Lake on the "Stewardship of the Faith" 17, 122

Rev. Professor H. A. A. Kennedy, D.D.

The New Testament Metaphor of the Messianic Bridal 97
The Regulative Value for the Pauline Theology of the Conception of Christian Sonship 447

Rev. Professor W. F. Lofthouse, M.A.

The Mosaic Codes and Popular Hebrew Religion . . 66

PAGE

Rev. J. B. McClellan, D.D.

Redemption, Salvation and Atonement in the Old and New Testament 107

Rev. Professor J. E. McFadyen, D.D.

Isaiah and War 161
The Mosaic Origin of the Decalogue :—
The Ritual Decalogue 152
Egyptian and Babylonic Parallels to the Ethical Decalogue 157
The Original Form of the Decalogue 222
Can the Original Form of the Decalogue be Mosaic ? . 227
The Fourth Commandment 311
The Second Commandment. 384

Rev. Professor H. R. Mackintosh, D.D.

The Vicarious Penitence of Christ 81

Rev. Alphonse Mingana, D.D.

Remarks on the Hebrew of Genesis 303

Rev. Professor James Moffatt, D.D., Litt.D.

A Popular Text 137
St. Augustine's Advice to an Army Officer . . . 409

Rev. W. Morison, D.D.

Christ's Confidence in His Doctrine of the Fatherhood of God 297

H. F. Moule, Litt.D.

The Greek Text of Erasmus 421

Rev. Professor T. H. Robinson, M.A., B.D.

A Study in Inverted Commas 210

The Late Sir Alexander Simpson, M.D.

The Physical Cause of the Death of Christ 334

Rev R. H. Strachan, M.A.

The Birth of a New Message : Isaiah xl. 1–11 . . 288

Rev. J. M. Thompson, M.A.

The Composition of the Fourth Gospel 34
The Interpretation of John vi. 337

Bernard H. Tower, M.A.

St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians : a Paraphrase . 231, 464

The Late Principal Sir William Turner, M.A.

The Physical Cause of the Death of Christ . . . 334

Rev. Professor A. Van Hoonacker, D.D.

The Servant of the Lord in Isaiah xl. ff. . . . 183

INDEX TO SUBJECTS.

	PAGE
Augustine's Advice to an Army Officer, St.	409
Birth of a New Message, Isaiah xl. 1–11, The	288
Christ, The Vicarious Penitence of	81
Christ's Confidence in His Doctrine of the Fatherhood of God	297
Christian Baptism, The Descent into Hades and	241
Christian Sonship, Pauline Theology and the Conception of	447
Composition of the Fourth Gospel, The	34
Death of Christ, The Physical Cause of the	334
Decalogue, The Mosaic Origin of the 152, 157, 222, 227, 311,	384
Descent into Hades and Christian Baptism: A Study of 1 Peter iii. 19 ff., The	241
Divorce Exception in St. Matthew, The	438
Dr. Kirsopp Lake on the "Stewardship of the Faith"	17, 122
Egyptian and Babylonian Parallels to the Ethical Decalogue	157
Enigma of Titus, The	321
Erasmus, The Greek Text of	421
"Every Creature," not "All Creation," in Romans viii. 22	372
Fatherhood of God, Christ's Confidence in His Doctrine of the	297
Fourth Commandment, The	311
Fourth Gospel, The Composition of the	34
Fourth Gospel, The Judgment in the	46
Fourth Gospel, The Semitic Element in the	349
Galatians: A Paraphrase, St. Paul's Epistle to the	231, 464
Gates of Hades, The	401
Genesis, Remarks on the Hebrew of	303
Greek Text of Erasmus, The	421
Isaiah xl. 1–11, The Birth of a New Message	288
Isaiah xl. ff., The Servant of the Lord in	183
Isaiah and War	161
John vi., The Interpretation of	337
Judgment in the Fourth Gospel, The	46
Map as an Aid to the Preaching of the Old Testament, The	56
Messianic Bridal, The New Testament Metaphor of the	97
Mosaic Codes and Popular Hebrew Religion, The	66
Mosaic Origin of the Decalogue, The 152, 157, 222, 227, 311,	384
New Testament and its Interpretation for our Time: a Definition of New Testament Criticism, The	1
New Testament Metaphor of the Messianic Bridal, The	97
Old Testament, The Map as an Aid to the Preaching of the	56
Original Form of the Decalogue, The	222, 227
1 Peter iii. 19 ff., The Descent into Hades and Christian Baptism: a Study of	41
Physical Cause of the Death of Christ, The	334
Popular Text, A	137
Popular Hebrew Religion. The Mosaic Codes and	66
Regulative Value for the Pauline Theology of the Conception of Sonship	447
Remarks on the Hebrew of Genesis	303
Redemption, Salvation and Atonement in the Old and New Testaments	107
Ritual Decalogue, The	152
Romans viii. 22, "Every Creature" not "All Creation," in	372
Romans xv. and xvi. A New Theory	275
Second Commandment, The	384
Semitic Element in the Fourth Gospel, The	349
Servant of the Lord in Isaiah xl. ff., The	183
"Stewardship of the Faith," Dr. Kirsopp Lake on the	17, 122
Study in Inverted Commas, A	210
Titus, The Enigma of	321
Vicarious Penitence of Christ, The	81
War, Isaiah and	161
Who sent Apollos to Corinth?	175

INDEX TO TEXTS.

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Gen. i. 29	305	Exod. xx.	222	Deut. vi. 4	75
ii. 24	101	xx. 2	110	x. 4	154
vi. 12	380	xxiv. 8	133	xii. 25	76
xii. 15	307	xxv. 2	117	xiv. 21	76
xv. 17	306	Lev. iii.	69	Judges vi. 37	387
Exod. iv. 22	452	v. 7–13	69	viii. 26	386
vi. 6	110	xiv. 1–20	782	1 Kings xii. 4	396
xiv. 13, 14	117	Deut. v.	22	2 Kings xi. 7	273
xv. 11	227	v. 6	110	Job v. 20	109

	PAGE
Job xix. 25–27	109
Ps. xiv. 7	118
xxiv. 2	241
xlvi. 1	117
xlix. 7–9	109
lx. 9, 10	117
lxviii. 18	248–9
lxxvii. 16	245
lxxxviii. 1	117
cxiv. 2	245
cxxxvi. 1, 10–12	110
cxxxvi. 6	241
cxxxvii. 4	228
Isa. i. 20	164
xxv. 6	98
xxxiii. 2	117
xxxv. 4	118
xxxv. 10	111
xl. ff.	183, 209
xl. 1–11	289
xl. 5	381
xli. 14	111
xliii. 1–4, 9	111
xliii. 11	117
xlvi. 1, 4	290
li. 9–11	111
lii. 3, 4	111
lix. 20	111
lxii. 6	97
lxii. 11	118
lxii. 12	111
lxiii. 4	111
lxv. 3	370
Jer. iii. 23	117
vii. 22	313
xiv. 8	117
xxx. 10	118
Lam. iv. 20	209
Ezek. xx. 32	228
Hos. xiii. 4	117
xiii. 14	109
Amos iii. 2	75
v. 25	312
Jonah ii. 3	270
Micah iv. 10	111
vi. 6, 8	313
vii. 7	117
Hab. iii. 18	117
Mal. ii. 11	228
Matt. i. 21	118, 119
iii. 7	118
vi. 19	342
vii. 24	404
ix. 15	104
xi. 14	106
xii. 28	106
xii. 40	243
xiii. 13	105
xvi. 17	374
xvi. 18	401
xviii. 15–15	138, 147, 150
xviii. 16	359
xx. 28	115
xxii. 1–14	98
xxv. 1–13	103
Mark ii. 19	97, 103
iv. 11, 12	105
xii. 24, 25	99
xii. 35	106
xiv. 58	216, 217
Luke i. 47	119
i. 68	112
i. 68–75	115
i. 77	118
ii. 11	119
ii. 38	112
iii. 22	365
vi. 48	404
xii. 15	41
xiv. 16–24	98
xix. 11	112
xx. 38	41
xxi. 20–28	112
xxiv. 19–21	112
John i. 12	364
ii. 19	216, 217
iii. 5, 8	365
iii. 8	363
iii. 16, 17	351
iii. 29	97, 100
iv. 53	356
vi. 27	342
vi. 29	343
vi. 52–59	337
vi. 66, 71	337
viii. 12	354
viii. 32–36	113
xii. 48	353
xvi. 28	350
xvi. 30	301
xix. 34, 35	336
xx. 23	355
Acts i. 5, 6	112
ii. 36, 47	129
iv. 10–12	120
iv. 12	129
v. 31	118
viii. 16	129
x. 28	129
xiii. 26	119
xvii. 28	41
xviii. 23, 23	323
xviii. 27	178
xix. 21, 22	329
Rom. iii. 19	213, 380
v. 6–8, 9	115
v. 8	118
v. 20	381
v. 28	214
vi. 3–5	246
vi. 16–23	113
vi. 18–22	114
vii. 14, 22, 28	213
vii. 24, 25	450
viii. 2	113
viii. 14–16	448
viii. 16–17	375
viii. 19–28	116
viii. 22	214
viii. 24, 25	117
xiv. 9	252
Rom. i. 29	380
1 Cor. iii. 10	176
iv 15	176
iv. 19	329
vi. 19, 20	114
viii. 1, 4	214
xv. 3	115
xv. 26	121
xv. 50	381
xv. 55	109
xvi. 11, 12 19	182
2 Cor. ii. 13	325
iv. 17	215
v. 1	215
v. 14, 15	115
v. 15	114
v. 19	218
vii. 5–8, 13–14	325
viii. 6, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23,	327
x. 7	175
x. 10	219
xi. 1 100, 101,	102
xi. 21	219
Gal. i.–iii.	231–240
iii. 26	447
iv. 3–11	113
iv. 4, 5	115
v. 1	113
Eph. i. 6, 7	116
i. 11	214
v. 25–32	100, 101
Phil. ii. 22	330
iii. 20	119
Col. i. 13, 14	116
ii. 13	256
1 Thess. i. 1	131
i. 10	115, 118
ii. 1, 13	212
iii. 2	330
2 Thess ii. 1, 2	220
iii. 14–15	137
1 Tim. i. 15	118, 120
ii. 3, 4	119
ii. 6	115
iv. 10	119
Tit. i 5	334
ii. 13, 14	114, 115
iii. 10–11	137–157
iii. 12	334
iv. 10	334
Heb. ii. 9–15	115
ix. 12	116
ix. 28	121
xii. 25	138
1 Peter i. 5	121
i. 9, 10	118
i. 18, 19	116
iii. 8	118, 379
iii. 23	351
1 John iv. 8	352
iv. 14	120
Rev. v. 9	116
vi. 16, 17	118
vii. 9, 10	121
xii. 10	121

Printed in Great Britain by Butler & Tanner, Frome and London

GTU Library
3 2400 00276 5869
APR 27

DATE DUE

APR 13 2010	
APR 7 2011	

DEMCO, INC. 38-2931

Expositor
MAR 25 1966
ser. 8
v.11
1916:1
Expositor
1916:1
v.11
ser.8
CBPac